

THE DESTRUCTION OF BLACK CIVILIZATION

GREAT ISSUES OF A RACE
FROM 4500 B.C. TO 2000 A.D.



BY CHANCELLOR WILLIAMS
Third World Press

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by Chancellor Williams

Illustrated by Murry N. DePillars

WTP

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Dedication

To the Black youth of the Nineteen Sixties for Beginning the Second Great Emancipation—the Liberation of Our Minds and thus Changing the Course of History.

Preface

While this book is still a summary of more detailed research, it seemed necessary to amplify certain questions and the answers to them. The widespread interest in and study of the book is deeply appreciated and rewarding to the author, and the letters from the prisons have been most touching and revealing.

As noted elsewhere, I am keenly aware of many repetitions throughout the work, unavoidable because of comparative methods used, and others for emphasis—which may have turned out to seem overemphasis.

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PART I

"What became of the Black People of Sumer?" the traveller asked the old man, "for ancient records show that the people of Sumer were Black. What happened to them?" "Ah," the old man sighed. "They lost their history, so they died. . . ."

—A SUMER LEGEND

The Preview

THIS WORK IS A SUMMARY OF THE 16 YEARS OF RESEARCH and field studies which were intended for a 2 volume history of the African people. The writing plan for the two volumes would have required at least another five years, even if the serious impairment of my vision had not occurred. In the meantime there had developed an urgent need for the results of my research which concentrated on crucial areas in the history of the Blacks that had been either unknown, known and misinterpreted, or known but deliberately ignored. My own history classes were only a part of the rebellion against the only kind of textbooks available. It was a general rebellion against the subtle message even from the most "liberal" white authors (and their negro disciples): "You belong to a race of *Nobodies*. You have no worthwhile history to point to with pride."

The Destruction of Black Civilization, therefore, could not wait another five years just to be more detailed, impressive, or massive in scope; for a reinterpretation of the history of the African race could be compressed into a smaller work for background reading, and so written that Black John Doe, cab driver or laborer, and Jane Doe, house maid or waitress, can read and understand the message from their forefathers and foremothers as well as college students and professors.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF STUDY

In a small town surrounded by cotton fields in South Carolina, a little black boy in the 5th grade began to harass teachers, preachers, parents and grandparents with questions which none seemed able to answer: How is it that white folks have *everything* and we have *nothing*? Slavery? How and why did we become their slaves in the first place? White children go to fine brick, stone and marble schools nine months a year while we go to a ranshackle old barn-like building only 5 1/2 months—and then to the cotton fields. Why?

In the sixth grade one of our teachers, Miss Alice Crossland, helped me to become a sales agent for the *Crisis* and the *Norfolk Journal and Guide*. This was like turning on the floodlights of Heaven; for the books on our race, listed on the back pages of the *Crisis*, started me off on this never ending search, but raised more questions as I progressed through school—raised more perplexing questions than were answered. For, having read everything about the African race that I could get my hands on, I knew even before leaving high school that (1) *The Land of The Blacks* was not only the "Cradle of Civilization" itself but that the Blacks were once the leading people on earth; (2) that Egypt was not only once all Black, but the very name "Egypt" was derived from the Blacks; (3) and that the Blacks were the pioneers in the sciences, medicine, architecture, writing, and were the first builders in stone, etc.

The big unanswered question, then, was *WHAT HAD HAPPENED?* How was this highly advanced Black Civilization so completely destroyed that its people in our times, and for some centuries past, have found themselves not only behind the other peoples of the world, but even the color of their skin a sign of inferiority, bad luck and the badge of the slave whether bond or freed? And, since I had learned that whites were once enslaved as generally as any other race, how did it come about that slavery was finally concentrated in Africa for Blacks only? In short, no books or other studies in high school and college answered or gave clues to answers to the problems that puzzled me most. For no matter what the factual data were, all the books written about the Blacks by their conquerors reflected the conquerors' viewpoints. Nothing

else should have been expected. And, considering how thoroughgoing was the capture of the minds of the Blacks also, it is really not surprising that so many Negro scholars still faithfully follow in the footsteps of their white masters.

I was convinced that what troubled me and what I wanted to know, was what troubled the Black masses and what they wanted to know. We wanted to know the whole truth, good and bad. For it would be a continuing degradation of the African people if we simply destroyed the present system of racial lies embedded in world literature only to replace it with glorified fiction based more on wishful thinking than the labors of historical research.

My inquiry, therefore, was concerned with Black civilization alone—what the Blacks themselves achieved independently of either Europe or Asia. This was an entirely new approach to the study of the history of the Blacks. It meant, first of all, segregating traditional African institutions from those later influenced by Islamic Asia and Christian Europe. In this way, and in no other, we can determine what our heritage really is and, instead of just talking about "identity," we shall know at last precisely what purely African body of principles, value systems or philosophy of life—slowly evolved by our own forefathers over countless ages—from which we can develop an African ideology to guide us onward. In other words, there can be no real identity with our heritage until we know what our heritage really is. It is all hidden in our history, but we are ignorant of that history. So we have been floating along, basking blissfully in the sunny heritage of other peoples!

My research was a quest for some specific answers to very specific questions. Some of these were: (1) How did All-Black Egypt become All-White Egypt? (Note at this point that mulattoes were classified as "White" in Egypt, all North Africa, and the Middle East—a fact that still confuses Blacks in the United States where the very opposite policy was adopted). (2) What were some of the specific details in the process of so completely blotting out the achievements of the African race from the annals of history—just how could this be done on such a universal scale? (3) How and under what circumstances did Africans, among the very first people to invent writing, lose this art almost completely? (4) Is there a single African race, *one African people*? (5) If one race or one people, how do you explain the numerous languages, cul-

tural varieties and tribal groupings? (6) Since, as it seemed to me there are far more disunity, self-hatred and mutual antagonisms among Blacks than any other people, is there a historical explanation for this? (7) And how, in puzzling contrast, is the undying love of Blacks for their European and Asian conquerors and enslavers explained?

These questions, along with those stated earlier, constituted the core problems for sixteen years of study. And while the outcome did not eventuate in the more detailed work as planned, I think I succeeded in summarizing the most significant highlights of my findings in the chapters which follow this *Preview*.

ORIGIN AND STEPS IN THE STUDY

1. Review of world history. Believing that the history of the race could not be understood if studied in isolation, I began a slow—and *deliberately unrushed*—review of European history, ancient and modern, and the history of the Arabs and Islam. I say "review" because by 1950 I had already studied and taught in the three fields of American, European and Arabic history—a most fortunate circumstance for the task ahead.

2. Began the formal study of Africa in Europe, not Africa. I did not know how very wise this was when the decision was made. For I did not then know that Europe and Asia had been hauling out of Africa over the centuries just about all of the historical materials I needed to see and study at the very outset, and which, of course, could not be found in Africa. Certainly, I knew from reading all about the "Rape of Africa," but to know the scale on which this was done one must see at least some of it in Europe with his own eyes—and be amazed. The museums in various cities of the European colonial powers are the repositories of much African history.

3. Documentary sources. These are available in both Europe and America. Reports of Colonial Administrators in Africa, Parliamentary debates, reports and letters from geographers, explorers, captains of slave ships, and—especially rewarding—the reports and letters from missionaries to their respective societies' home offices. For the earliest records on ancient Africa in Europe, Greek and Roman sources were the most useful (See *Bibliographical Note*)

4. Field Studies. The field studies covered two years of work in Africa. Armed with a rather solid background in written documentaries, the primary concern now turned to oral history and the developing methods of historical criticism applicable to it. (Several chapters will be required just to detail the methods and procedures in this relatively new and rewarding field of oral tradition). Every region of Black Africa was covered: 26 nations in East, West, Central and Southern Africa, and 105 language groups.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

We began in the lands bordering the Mediterranean on the North and extending southward on both sides of the Nile below the 10th parallel, thus including Axum and neighboring kingdoms. This vast territory was the ancient Ethiopian empire, a federation of autonomous and semi-autonomous kingdoms. The study began here, firstly, because this was the heartland of the African race where evidence of that first Black civilization is to be found there still, despite all the centuries of efforts to destroy it.

From the researcher's viewpoint the most important part of the investigation was the beginning of the task of singling out and clearly setting forth the precise nature of Africa's own independently developed civilization. A Continent-wide study of the traditional customary laws of the Blacks, for example, enabled us to learn for the first time that a single constitutional system prevailed throughout all Black Africa, just as though the whole race, regardless of the countless differences in language and other locally determined cultural patterns, lived under a single government. A similar continent-wide study of African social and economic systems through the milleniums reveal the same overall pattern of unity and sameness of all fundamental institutions. That there is a historical and fundamental basis for real brotherhood and unity of the Black race could not have escaped the notice of all of those Europeans who have been investigating and writing about Africa over the years. But they are shrewd. Massive Black unity would be massive Black power—which, of course, would reduce white power and its domination of the whole earth. So white "Africanist" writers always concentrate on the "ethnic differences" among Africans, tribal antagonisms, "hopeless" language barriers, the cultural varie-

ties etc. They even make a separate "ethnic" group of their own mulatto offsprings from Black women by classifying them as "white" in some areas and "Coloureds" in others. Hence, a system of thought and practices were developed and superimposed on an already divided race to keep them permanently divided. No one can deny that in this, too, the whites have been most successful.

We have presented in Chapter VI enough of the traditional *African Constitution* and the *Fundamental Rights of The African People* to be specific beginning points for the identity and the discovery of the heritage we talk about without any definite frame of reference.

Chapter VII views the long drawn-out migrations as continent-wide movements that help to explain many of the most important factors in the destruction of black civilization. For the migrations help to answer the question: What happened to the African people? Or, what caused them to descend from the highest place to the lowest among the peoples of the world?

Even though the work was radically abridged, an innovation in historical research was introduced by going beyond the mere documentation of sources in order to validate, beyond all questions of doubt, the principal viewpoints of the work. This was the case-study method by which a representative number of states from every region of the continent was studied—North, East, West, Central and Southern Africa.

In the "View from the Bridge" and the final chapters, I make a more definite break from the "old line" school of historians. To be objective and scientific, this school insists, the research scholar should do no more than present the comprehensive and fully documented results of his investigations. There should be no "subjective" commentaries, no editorializing. Just present the factual data and leave the work to the readers to interpret or evaluate as they choose.

This may not only be the correct viewpoint, but it is even beautiful for historians who represent the already arrived people who control the world. They can well afford the luxury of historical knowledge for knowledge's sake—the great satisfaction that comes from just knowing how things came to be.

But the Black historian, member of a race under perpetual seige and fighting an almost invisible war for survival, dare not follow in these footsteps of the master. Quite the contrary, after

faithfully researching and piecing together the fragmented record of the race's history, the task of critical analysis and interpretation should begin. What were our strengths in the past? In what respects were we most vulnerable? Where did we go wrong? And all this, like the study of history itself, must be for the express purpose of determining *WHAT TO DO NOW*. In short, the Black historian; if he is to serve his generation, must not hesitate to declare what he thinks the results of his studies mean. For even when our history shows us where we have been weak, it is also showing us how, through our own efforts, we can become strong again.

THE WHITE ARABS

The relentless searchlights of history were turned on the roles played by the use of both Islam and Christianity in the subjugation of the Blacks. This confused many and outraged those who do not pause to distinguish evil men who use religion to disguise their real aims from religion itself. So the unthinking Muslim or Christian is likely to think that his religion is being attacked rather than the conquerors and enslavers who disgrace it in covering their drive for wealth and world domination.

The Blacks in the United States seem to be more mixed up and confused over the search for racial identity than anywhere else. Hence, many are dropping their white Western slave masters' names and adopting—not African—but their white Arab and Berber slavemasters' names! For the Arabs themselves are a white people, the Semitic division of Caucasians and, therefore, blood brothers of the Jews against whom they are now arrayed for war. The confusion will continue, however, as long as the fact that millions of mulattoes in Arab countries are considered "White" is ignored along with the other fact that countless unmixed, sun-baked desert-dwelling Arabs are not only brown but some are very dark in color—all this darkening of the skin in spite of their ages-old tradition of the thick cloth covering the face from the scorching sun. Indeed, not only do mulattoes consider themselves 100% Arab, but jet-black Africans, whose forebears were in Arabia for generations, speak Arabic and call themselves Arabs—just as Black Americans speak English and call themselves "Americans." In both

cases neither the Black Arab nor Black American¹ thinks he is "white." To repeat, then, the Blacks are in Arabia for precisely the same reasons Blacks are in the United States, South America, and the Caribbean Islands—capture and enslavement.

In studying the actual records in the history of the race, therefore, the role of White Arabs must not be obscured either by their Islamic religion or by the presence of the Africans and Afro-Arabs among them any more than we should permit white Europeans and white Americans to use Christianity to cover their drive for power and control over the lives of other peoples.

THE EUROPEAN JOURNEY

I arrived in England in the Fall of 1953 to begin formal studies at Oxford University, primarily through the Institute of Colonial Studies and at Rhodes House (which might be more properly called Africa House). In addition to the study of documentary sources on Africa, I had other objectives: (1) I wanted a more direct, close-up view of the European mind, its real attitude toward the Black world. (2) The extent to which European wealth and power were derived directly from Africa. (3) The nature and philosophy of the European education that was shaping and determining the mentality of Africans. For I was already fully aware of the disastrous effects of the white American education system on Black Americans who, not having any other frame of reference, had to adopt the ideologies and viewpoints of the whites to survive at all—even when these viewpoints are against themselves. This meant visiting various classrooms in elementary and secondary

1. The term "Black" was given a rebirth by the Black Youth Revolt. As reborn, it does not refer to the particular color of any particular person, but to the attitude of pride and devotion to the race whose homeland from times immemorial was called "The Land of the Blacks." Almost overnight our youngsters made "Black" Co-equal with "White" in respectability, and challenged the anti-black Negroes to decide on which side they stood. This was no problem for many who are light or even near-white in complexion, for they themselves were among the first to proclaim with pride, "call me Black!" Those who hate the term but hold the majority of leadership positions, feel compelled to use it to protect their leadership roles.

schools, teacher training institutes, and classrooms of lecturers and professors in a selected number of colleges in the universities. These were not "look-in-and-leave" visits, but all day studies at the schools visited, remaining throughout the period in the classrooms, and talking with students, teachers and principals thereafter. In such a study one learns very quickly that the textbooks and other works describing education do not tell the same story as the schools in action tell. (4) Finally I wanted to know—and again from direct study—exactly what made Oxford probably the greatest university in the world. What are the specific elements of that greatness? Was great teaching a factor, and, if so, who are the great teachers, nature of teaching or, in short, what made them great teachers?

From just the foregoing aims of the study it must be obvious that I was still examining various aspects of the probable reasons why the whites became the masters of the globe.

In both France and England I found that the system of education fostered a new kind of aristocracy—an aristocracy of the "educated." College graduates constituted the new upper classes. The son of a carpenter or railroad conductor became estranged from his family and former friends upon receiving his university degree. A case in point was J. L., a young Englishman in my College at Oxford (Lincoln), and who was one of my close friends there. He refused to go home during any of the long vacation breaks because, to quote him, "I can no longer associate with my family and old friends. Wouldn't know how to talk with them. We have nothing in common now, you know. . . ."

This British (an European) philosophy of education fitted in ideally with those Africans from the continent and elsewhere who, unlike J.L., came to Europe from the privileged class at home. Some of those studying in England became more British than the British, just as many from what was French West Africa became more "French" than the Frenchmen.

The first tragedy to note about the effects of this class education on Blacks is that it further reinforced colonialism's policy of perpetual disunity in Africa and elsewhere. The line dividing these Black "upper" and "middle" classes from the Black masses and their basic aspirations is more rigidly drawn. And this superior class mentality, becoming even more crystalized since independence,

is an almost certain guarantee of future uprisings on a scale never seen.

The second great tragedy is in the nature of what is called "education." It is mainly rote learning, the ability to memorize phrases, concepts and other required data. *Thinking* is neither required nor expected. Critical analysis and evaluation of subject matter are not required. But the ability to absorb and recall is required. The brilliant scholar, then, is one who can readily quote authorities and remember well his bibliographical sources. So we have a generation of Black scholars who continue to amaze students by mouthing the doctrines and viewpoints of their white teachers—like so many robots without minds of their own.

Yet study under white teachers and professors should be most rewarding, and it can be if you do not enter white institutions with a head like an empty pitcher going to a fountain to be filled. I was safe and richly rewarded during my studies in white universities only because I happened not to be so naive that I expected the viewpoints of the conquerors to be the same as those of the conquered on matters relating to our place in the world.

Elsewhere I have emphasized, by repetition, that some of the most fruitful sources for study came quite unintentionally from white scholars. A case in point was at Oxford. The course was "The History of Colonialism in Africa." The presence of two or three Blacks in the class, while obviously uncomfortable to some, was generally ignored. For African studies were of long standing as an integral part of the imperial system. They were not planned for Africans at all, but for the future administrators of the Empire in Africa. So Professor Madden was pointing out in his lecture how difficult—and even impossible—it was to rule Africans in view of their "wild and most primitive system of democracy." For just as fast as African kings or chiefs undertook to carry out British laws which displeased the people, "the people would remove them from office," therefore, this "primitive African democracy had to be destroyed" before the British system of Indirect Rule could be effective.

The point here is that these sneering remarks by an eminent British historian revealed to me an entirely new field of research. That lecture led me into the study of one of the most significant developments in the entire history of the Black race: an ancient

system of democracy (existing before Greece), evolved from a continent-wide constitution that governed the whole African people as a single race. This all-important finding was arrived at by comparative studies of African customary laws in every region of the continent. The Europeans were confronted with a real social democracy that existed long before the terms "socialism" and "democracy" were invented in the West. For Dr. Madden it was "savage" because the people were the real rulers in fact, and not merely in theory.

THE FIELD STUDIES

In so far as the study of African history is concerned, I regard direct investigation in the field—and in Africa—as of the highest importance. This field work should be undertaken only after thoroughgoing research in written and other documentary sources. The study of available written sources, their evaluation, and the mounting archaeological records are all the first major phase of African research and, I would say, a prerequisite for field-work.

The field work was mainly concerned with oral history. I had noted in my study of sources of noted historians that many who decried oral tradition as "unreliable" never failed to use it themselves to supplement or give added validity to their works. The fact is that neither written nor unwritten records should be accepted as true without verification.

Although two years were devoted to the field work, the ground covered was possible only because of careful advance planning and the scheduling of areas and groups in each country months ahead of my arrival. These had to be in the hinterland, or "Bush Country," generally far away from the Westernized urban centers. For our quest was not for the long standing tradition of either Islam or Christianity in Africa, but for the more ancient tradition of Africa itself. So vast and untapped is the real history of the African race that I myself only scratched the surface of what is yet to be done. Some of the areas to be explored by future historians are set forth in pages which follow in this chapter. A major research project should not be undertaken by a single individual. This was my mistake—hence, the 16 years of work that a research team of eight or ten persons might complete in three or four. The kind of well-

organized research teams required for in-depth studies may be difficult to promote because of our pitiful go-it-alone individualism. A research project such as mine should have had a team of highly trained experts from the fields of history, archaeology, anthropology, medicine, linguistics tropical agriculture, political science, etc.

The widely ranging scope of the study minus a team was possible only because of the interest and active support of certain African governments and the unforgettable help of the people in every region and country. For all kinds of help were needed. As indicated above, much had been pre-arranged. The United States Department of State had notified the American embassy in each country that I was coming, requesting our ambassadors to give any requested assistance. Excepting the Sudan, where embassy officials appeared to be under some kind of fear, the embassies everywhere went all-out to be helpful. The embassies had the very important work of making the advance arrangements for trips into the interior through the appropriate ministries in each country. These in turn had to contact the various provincial governors or district commissioners who had to make living and conference arrangements with village chiefs, elders, the keepers of oral traditions and other specified groups. The amount of time all this advance work saved for the study itself is obvious.

But volunteer work of our African brothers who accompanied me into the field was what I referred to above as "unforgettable." Some of these were teachers who, as in the case of my previous field work (1956-57), had secured leave for the purpose without any trouble at all. Indeed, even the people we call "illiterate" had that storehouse of wisdom which made it easy for them to understand that I was working, not for myself, but for them—for the whole Black race.

I am trying to make it clear here that, although I did not have the kind of research team referred to above, many people—128 in number—participated in this work and made the outcome possible. So, when at various places I say "we" it is not the editorial or royal "we," but reference is made to individuals and groups that actually worked on various parts of the study. However, I had to decline the services of many highly recommended Africans because of their "upper class" attitudes toward the common people. For I had learned quite early that the people in the interior can spot the arrogant

and "superior" African just as easily as they recognize the arrogant and "superior" white investigator. They will give answers to questions readily enough, but not the right answers. I therefore selected only those whose heartbeats seemed to be tuned to the heartbeats of the great common people from whom all of us came.

The interpreters were generally assistants who spoke two or three of the languages of the country. An entirely new kind of assistant was the verifying interpreter. (This is to double check the interpreters, for sometimes they do not convey your question precisely or give back the exact reply). There were training sessions before and during the field work. In those fortunate cases where we had four or five competent assistants, one of the interpreters remained with me, while the others worked on special assignments in different places in the area.

The documentary research preceding all this in the United States was not done entirely alone. Some of the most important areas of my study of ancient sources were rechecked in independent studies by a select group of graduate students in history. Their assistance in reappraising such early sources as Manetho, Herodotus, Josephus, Strabo, Abu Salih, *et al* was invaluable. Foremost among these were Reverend Carleton J. Hayden and Mr. Donald W. Kiehefner.

In concluding my remarks on the field studies in Africa some comments on four of the countries visited are in order. In the Sudan the authorities did not want me to work in or even visit the all-black southern provinces. Their fifteen years of rebellion against the "Arab" North caused the whole vast area to be officially "sensitive," and, therefore, barred to outsiders. The suggestion was that I confine my studies to the Northern Sudan. This I refused because I had been previously assured that the rebellion had been "completely crushed," and that "peace and quiet" prevailed everywhere. Besides, I could only find Islamic institutions in the North—institutions of which I already had full knowledge by years of special study and teaching. As indicated above, the American embassy in Khartoum did none of the preparatory work about which I give the U.S. embassies throughout Africa so much praise, although it had six months' notice before my arrival. And they maintained a strictly hands-off policy after my arrival. I therefore, prepared to leave at once, but announced that I do not beg to study anywhere, and that the world would learn that this was the only

"African" state where an African scholar was barred. The Ministry of the Interior reacted swiftly. Not only was permission to do field work in the South quickly granted, but all the necessary arrangements were made with dispatch. This included establishing my southern headquarters at Malakal. The simple fact was that while they were quite familiar with European research people roaming freely all over the country, a *Black* doing field studies in the Sudan is a phenomenon indeed.

Ethiopia (the new name for Abyssinia), like the Republic of the Sudan, is also ruled by people of mixed blood who not only do not consider themselves African by race, but who maintain a privileged class society based upon color. To them all black skinned Africans are "Bantu." To these they feel superior by reason of "white blood," and their discriminatory practices are just as subtle and real as those of the whites. And although the enslavement of black skinned Africans continue in both countries even in our times, both the Sudan and the new Ethiopia have adopted the "Brotherhood Front" since the sudden rise of so many independent African states—the Sudan to serve as the "Bridge" between the Arab world and the new Black states, and thus control or influence their international policies through the U.N.; and Ethiopia to more directly control or influence Black Africa through Western backing in establishing the headquarters of the Organization of African Unity in Addis Ababa and pushing Haile Selassie into the key role of continent-wide leadership, thus blocking the "dangerous" influence of Kwame Nkrumah. (It is because of my steadfast refusal to either skip or gloss over these aspects of the historial record that I am criticized by many Negroes—and I know exactly when to use this term!).²

And now southward to the fully white ruled lands where hostility to a black face was fully expected: Rhodesia and South Africa. Long before reaching Southern Africa I was told that I might as well skip Rhodesia, and that even if admitted into South Africa I would not be permitted to work. But Rhodesia—to the surprise of just about everyone—pulled out all stops, as though it had resolved to outmatch all the Black states in amenities and various kinds of assistance beyond all expectations or needs. There was the usual press conference, followed by front page headline coverage of my mission. The other surprise was invitation for TV and radio broadcasts to the nation. Our Zimbabwe friends were somewhat suspicious

of the motives behind all this red carpet treatment of a Black American, especially when it continued after my uncompromising replies to questions on a TV broadcast panel session. The Ministry of the Interior had an interpreter flown 300 miles to join me when I visited his particular language group, the Ndebele. The only objectionable incidents were when, on two different occasions in different places, two District officers wanted to attend my meetings with Chiefs and the Council of Elders. I objected, and the matter was closed.

Finally, South Africa. The situation in this country is so ridiculous that, far from allowing myself to be incensed with rage, I found it amusing. The unrelenting brutality of these whites against the Blacks leaves them in a state of permanent fear. They seem to consider every Black man, not a potential, but an actual threat. And what they are preoccupied with every hour is unbelievable until you are actually in South Africa. My passport was a "mistake made somewhere." I, of course, had no intention to do field work in South Africa, but had to pass through it to reach the surrounded countries then under British rule. No one at all was supposed to be barred from passage to and from these countries. But it required the action of the U.S. Ambassador at Pretoria and an angry American Consul General at Johannesburg to free me from the airport room where I was held and checked on every thirty minutes. Even when the Consul General arrived in person the authorities insisted that I must not enter the city, but be taken under guard to the train for Swaziland. Mr. Riley (the C. G.) then decided to defy South Africa by not only driving me leisurely through Johannesburg, but 200 miles around the country, stopping at different towns, and finally on to Switzerland. What I referred to above as amusing were incidents such as excited policemen rushing to flag

2. One of the fateful illusions among Blacks is that the white world does not know about the very weak areas in the race which are the basis for its power and control over them. When we reach the point where we begin to seek out and turn the searchlight on the things that divide and hold us back—at that point the white oppressors will have reason to tremble. The white man stays on the alert, keeping a sharp lookout for any signs of strength and developing among the Blacks. Exploring for real obstacles to unity would be a disturbing sign of growing strength.

down the big Cadillac because they could so quickly spot a black face before they saw the seal of the United States emblazoned on the sides of the car or the American flag flying from the hood.

An *African* is a member of the Black race, and from times immemorial he was known as such by all the peoples of the world. Throughout this work the term refers to Blacks only. It should be noted also that I write about the African *people*—not African *peoples*, as Western writers do. I am dealing here with essentially one people, one "race," if you please—the African race. In ancient times "African" and "Ethiopian" were used interchangeably because both meant the same thing: a Black. This, of course, was before the Caucasians began to reorder the earth to suit themselves and found it necessary to stake their birthright over the Land of the Blacks also. In line with this, some Western historians have recently wondered where the Africans came from!

The reasons given for beginning formal studies of Africa at Oxford implied much more than was stated. Reference was made to studying the "Caucasian mind," for therein may be found many clues that lead to a better understanding of the history of the Blacks and how the systematic blackout of significant portions of that history occurred.

This is why I urge those students who intend to accept the great challenge of basic research in this discipline to go into "enemy territory," linger there, study and critically analyze their lectures and their "scholarly" writings, for they are some of the most rewarding sources for African history—precisely because in shrewdly attempting to delete, disguise or belittle the role of the Blacks in world history, they often reveal the opposite of what was intended. They are fruitful sources of unconscious evidence—supplying the very evidence they thought to suppress or recording facts the significance of which they were totally ignorant. A fairly good example is the written account of a European explorer in East Africa. He was outraged because he and his party had to wait two weeks to present request to explore the country to the African king. The Black autocrat, the account went on, had the presumption to keep *white men* waiting (*italics mine*) in order to show his people how high and mighty he was. The whites were denied even a brief audience, while the king would quickly receive any old black that wandered in from the countryside. Now the explorer, without know-

ing it, was actually reporting how African democracy worked, and how it had been working before there was an Athens or Greece (where Westerners think democracy was born). The explorer would have been surprised to know (1) that "king" in Africa meant something entirely different from what it meant in Europe and Asia; (2) that this black king, far from "putting on airs," did not have the right to receive them even socially without the presence of at least three senior Elders; (3) that to consider a petition to conduct explorations in the country, the full Council of State had to be called, and that this could not be done by the king without the advice of the First Minister (who happened to be on tour when the explorers arrived in the capital); (4) and that the "old blacks" they saw "wandering in from the countryside" and being quickly received, were the councillors who had been summoned—some from distant provinces—to pass on their request to explore. They were the direct representatives of the people. The voice of the king was in fact the voice of the people, without which he could not act at all on any matter of importance, or even talk alone with strangers. It should be clear, therefore, that our guidelines for research must lead to a critical analysis of all sources, whether original, secondary or oral. In particular, we should seek out those works with the special mission to "prove" the superiority of whites by "proving" the inferiority of Blacks—all in language so subtle, scholarly and scientific that to the uncritical mind their "truths" seem self-evident. But it is also noteworthy that while the most hostile racist writers usually prove the very opposite of what they intended, their works inevitably contain useful, factual data that must be accepted. Indeed, it is doubtful whether anyone, even a devil, could write a book completely devoid of truth.

Research in African history is more tedious, laborious, and time-consuming than is true in other unsuppressed fields. For in developing the "underdeveloped" history of the Blacks, one has to explore the most unlikely sources for a fragment here and a fragment there, and in works in no way concerned with African history, and just as often no kind of history. Sometimes it is a paragraph or two in an explorer's account; at other times significant items may be found in the numerous missionary reports to the home office, explaining the mission's tasks, but also the native institutions to be overcome. All of these may be valuable and most valid

sources precisely because they were not intended to be such at all. The writers were detailing bigger European interests. Any references to Africans were merely incidental to larger purposes. Just piecing all these fragments together could be a research field by itself.

In my work in European and American history I ran into no such problems and the research tasks were easier. In Egyptian history, to give a final example of Caucasian roadblocks to be overcome, one has the extra time-consuming job of identifying the numerous black giants of history who have been classified and effectively disguised as Caucasians over the centuries. First of all, one must know the various names that referred to Blacks exclusively and by which they were known throughout the ancient world. For in addition to the more widely used "African" and "Ethiopian," they were also known as Thebans, Libyans, Thinites, Nubians, Cushites, Memphites, Numidians, etc. Even before white Asians gained the ascendancy in any of these areas, their very presence in relatively small numbers was sufficient to identify them as the leaders and achievers of whatever attracted the attention of the world.

Another trick—the very opposite of the American law and practice—was to classify Africans with "Caucasian blood" as Caucasians. If any of those so classified turned out to be notorious characters, pro-African or anti-white, they were loudly proclaimed and contemptuously called "half-breeds."

The millions of early Blacks who were forced either by circumstances or expediency to replace their own names with Asian and European names only added to the problems of historical identification.

Far from becoming baffled and discouraged by the more painstaking basic research required, the student of African history must accept the challenge as a twentieth-century mandate that is essential to the salvation of the race in the most literal sense. They will need the active support of Black governments and predominately Black institutions of learning. These should be actively sponsoring (1) comprehensive basic research programs; (2) research teams for field studies—especially in history and archaeology; (3) and a thorough-going teacher-training program for history and other related disciplines.

What, indeed, are Black institutions of learning waiting for?

The young people to show the way? The simple truth is that what is needed first is active pioneering initiatives. Financial assistance would then be forthcoming even from unexpected sources. Black inertia is the main problem. There is still too much dependence on white scholars to do our work for us. I have written elsewhere that as long as we rely on white historians to write Black history for us, we should keep silent about what they produce. They write from the Caucasian viewpoint, and we are naive indeed if we expect them to do otherwise—all the ballyhoo about their "scientific objectivity" to the contrary notwithstanding.

THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Over the years of studying African history certain propositions and theories evolved quite naturally as guiding headlights in the explorations. A few of them are set forth here, some previously stated or implied:

1. That Africa—all Africa—is the native homeland of the Blacks;³ and that the Asiatic peoples who occupy North and Eastern Africa, even though they may have been there for centuries, are no more native Africans than are the Dutch and British who likewise occupy and control the southern regions of the continent. The question of where the homelands are from which all of these invaders came is not debatable;
2. That the Blacks were among the very earliest builders of a great civilization on this planet, including the development of writing, sciences, engineering, medicine, architecture, religion and the fine arts;
3. That the story of how such an advanced civilization was lost is one of the greatest and most tragic in the history of mankind and should be the main focus of research studies in African history;
4. That Asian imperialism, though rarely ever mentioned, was, and still is even more devastating for the African people than that of either Europe or America; and that the Arabs' white

3. An important fact that should be well known is that *all unmixed* Africans are not jet black. For while the great majority are black skinned, countless thousands who lived for centuries in cool areas have lighter complexion—and no "Caucasian blood" at all.

superiority complex is not one whit less than that of Europe or America, although their strategy of "brotherhood" deceives naive Blacks.

5. That the forces behind the continuous splintering of already small groups and even the breaking up of kingdoms and empires, followed by the equally endless migrations, included the steadily increasing death of the soil and the advance of the deserts; the drying up of lakes and rivers, along with the attending change of the climate and the always certain internal strife—all combined with invasions and famine to become a way of life;
6. That the strength and greatness of the African people can be measured by how, in the face of what at times seemed to be all the forces of hell, they fought through to survive it all and, rebuilt kingdoms and empires some of which endured a thousand years.
7. That within the framework of even the smallest surviving states they adhered to and kept alive the basic principles of the traditional African constitution and held on through all the passing centuries to the fundamental elements of its ancient democratic, social, political and economic systems all over the continent;
8. That Africa was the cradle of a religious civilization based on the conception of one Supreme God, Creator of the Universe; and that this belief in one Supreme Being ante-dated that of the Jews by several thousand years before Abraham, and that the role of the numerous sub-deities on whom Western writers dwell, was exactly the same as that of patron saints in the Christian world; I advance further the theory that the early wandering Hebrews, so numerous in Africa, received many of their religious ideas there, for there it was that Abraham sojourned, Moses was born, Joseph lived, and some of the early years of Jesus Christ were spent. There is no question either that even centuries after Mulattoes and Asians emerged as the only Egyptians, they still regarded Black Africa as the chief source of the spiritual—"The Land of the Gods" or "The Land of the Spirits";
9. That notwithstanding the remarkable civilization they did develop even milleniums before Christ, and the amazing rebuilding of empires in spite of the great dispersions—notwithstanding all this, African people fell far behind in the forward march of the rest of mankind because, in addition to the destructive

forces of nature on the continent and the hostile forces from without, they, the African people, further enshackled themselves with their own hands through certain aspects of their social institutions and beliefs that stood as roadblocks to progress even where conditions were favorable.

THE SCHOLARS' WAR ON THE BLACKS

This work begins where the history of the Blacks began, in Egypt (Northern Ethiopia) and the Sudan (Southern Ethiopia). Thus at the very outset, I clash head-on with the Caucasian version of African history. My focus, then, is on the *Great Issues* in the history of the blacks that emerge from this confrontation with white scholarship; for while I have covered much of the same ground explored by scholars before me, I generally reached different conclusions than theirs, and from the same body of facts.

Let us pause for a moment at this point. I have made a blanket indictment of white Western scholarship on Africa. If it cannot be sustained, it should never be made. They are brought under fire at various points throughout this work—the kind of work, as I also stated, should be absolutely needless in the closing years of the 20th century. The case against Western "Africanists" is rather fully set forth in the work itself, but may be outlined here as follows:

1. First of all, they are not ignorant of the true history of the Blacks, including their achievements as builders of one of the first great civilizations on this earth (ancient writers say it was the very first); and they, the Western scholars, know all about the authentic early and modern sources. They simply ignore and refuse to publish any facts of African history that upset or even tend to upset their racial philosophy that rests so solidly on premises sanctified by time that they no longer need to be openly proclaimed.

2. They are, unwittingly, promoting the steady march toward a world conflict between the races. Yet they are doing what they feel they must do, in faithful obedience to their Caucasian culture, the racial pattern of which emerged in the 17th century. The steady conquest and enslavement of a whole people made it imperative to create both a religious and a "scientific" doctrine to assuage the

white conscience. Their phenomenal success in the industrial world at once supports and justifies their philosophy, the supremacy of the fittest. The danger now arises from an entirely new and unexpected development: A sleeping and submissive non-white world, while all this white power was being amassed, is no longer either sleeping or submissive.

3. Even the African revolt against colonialism and the worldwide challenge to white domination of the entire earth—even these signals of change do not disturb these scholars of imperialism. They represent the Lords of the Earth, controlling all levels of education, science and research. They control the education of Blacks throughout the world. Therefore, they see no need, even in the 1970s, to take a new look at the history of the Blacks from its beginning and start the work of restoring the pages they deleted or ignored.

They are doing the very opposite. Their histories and other "scientific" studies of the Blacks are presented just as they have been for three hundred years. With the rise and spread of independent African states and the Black Revolution in the United States, these scholarly representatives of White Supremacy quickly reformed their techniques of mind control: They set up in Europe and America highly financed African studies associations, societies, institutes, history journals and "African" periodicals of various kinds—all under complete white control and direction. Their African studies programs were pushed in the colleges and universities far ahead of the general demand by Black youth for Black studies. As the latter demands developed, Black youth discovered that white professors not only had the field occupied, but were still teaching their traditional viewpoint on "race."

In the continuing crusade to control the minds of the blacks through the nature of their education, American and British scholars lead. They are as ruthless and aggressive in their scholarly pursuits on races as their co-partners in seizing and controlling the wealth and peoples of other lands. Having established strong national and international "African" associations and journals that even attempt to control research activities on Africa, they proceeded to flood the world with hastily thrown together African "histories," pamphlets, and publications on just about every subject that could stand a "black" title.

4. From their all-powerful "position of strength" they continue to arrange and rearrange the world as it pleases them, naming and classifying peoples, places and things as they will: In the United States whites known to have any amount of "Negro blood"—no matter how small—are classified as Negroes; in Africa, North Africa in particular, they do the very opposite. Blacks with any amount of "Caucasian blood" are classified as "White." This scheme was rigorously applied in the history of Egypt, for example, where even unmixed black pharaohs became "white" and the originally black population was never referred to as Egyptians at all! The black kings who founded and ruled from the First Dynasty are disguised as such, while the Saite kings (white) of the small areas of Lower Egypt are presented as the Pharaohs of all Egypt even when African pharaohs were on the throne of Upper Egypt.

Blotting the Blacks out of history included replacing African names of persons, places and things with Arabic and European names. One wave of the masters' magic wand, and black Hamites and even Cushites, like their early Egyptian brothers, are no longer Africans!

5. Their periodization of African history is carefully arranged in such a way that the history becomes the history of Arabs and Europeans in Africa, and *not* the history of Africans. In *African History*, a recent publication of the American Historical Association as a guide to teaching, their purpose becomes clear in the arrangement itself: First period is from the Fall of the Roman Empire to 700 (A.D.) (Arab invasions); the second period of African history is the period of "Islamic" civilization, 700 (A.D.) to the coming of the Europeans in 1500; the European Period from 1500 to 1960 is subdivided at 1880 to mark the period of colonialism. *There is no period of Black civilization* in Black Africa. Such is the Caucasian viewpoint—almost a religion. Their very first period eliminates 4,000 years of Black civilization and the very greatest periods of African achievements; their second period is devoted to the Arabs and Berbers in Africa; and in their third period the focus is on European civilization. And it is all done under the heading of *African* history.

Where it was impossible to deny Black achievements, equal and often above the whites, such achievements were attributed to some kind of Caucasian influence, even if imaginary. Yet, the AHA

Publication Number Fifty-six uses the same strategy that makes Western scholarship so very triumphant: The main thrusts of its racist presuppositions are, for the unwary, completely hidden by much highly welcomed factual materials. But what is certain to disarm almost everyone is racism's forthright attacks on racism throughout the publication. I suppose no one is expected to notice the implied incapacity of Black historians to deal with African history objectively. (They are not referred to as historians, of course,) They are "... some modern African intellectuals who have tried to show great civilizations in the past, grander than anything that ever existed."

As a direct result of this continued universal enslavement through education, Black youth are in revolt. That revolt will become increasingly dangerous as they increasingly realize how completely they are blocked from self-realization in the very institutions that should further it; how difficult it is to find suitable textbooks in Black history or even "Negro" teachers who do not limit themselves to the viewpoints of the white masters who trained them. The frustrations become more intolerable as the young find themselves between two fires: The white racists who determine the very nature of their education and Negro educators who also see the world through the blue eyes of the Saxons. In short, they are forced to turn to their own devices because they find so many of their own race, who should be working with them, in the camps of the "enemy."

Insofar as periodization is concerned, no one should be so naive as to expect a proper division of African history while the field is almost completely preempted by the enemies of that history. A proper division would tend to encourage a more all-inclusive research and a less biased interpretation of the results. Neither will happen until a new generation of Black research scholars and historians take to the field, becoming the foremost authorities in their own right—Black historians, not a single one of whom will fall in Professor Philip D. Curtin's category of Black intellectuals who try to "show great civilizations in the past, grander than anything that ever existed." The new research efforts call for Black experts not only in the field of history but also in the allied fields from which African history must heavily draw—archaeology, anthropology, linguistics, etc.

THE NEW APPROACH

The first period would begin with "prehistory", primarily because Nowe, one of the oldest cities on earth, was begun by the Blacks before recorded history. Another important reason is that the Canaanites and other white Asians had invaded the Nile Delta and established a stronghold in Lower Egypt (then Northeastern Ethiopia or Chem) in prehistoric times. This early concentration of whites along the seacoasts of the Land of the Blacks is a circumstance of crucial importance in Black history because it was exactly from this development that the achievements of the Blacks were overshadowed by later writers or blotted out entirely. The call is for Black specialists for *one period* in *one area*. What, for example, was the actual influence of the white Asians—rigidly held back for centuries in the lower one-fourth of the country—upon the Blacks who held the three-fourths that came to be known as Upper Egypt? Review and in-depth studies of this period are required. The general historian is out. The best general histories, region by region, can be written only after the work of the specialists is done.

The second period might well be from the conquest of Lower Egypt by the Ethiopian leader, Menes, in 3100 B.C.⁴ to the end of the Sixth Dynasty, 2181—also the end of the Old Kingdom. This was the period that gave birth to Egypt—and before which there was no Egypt. It was the period during which Black kings united the "Two Lands," started the dynastic (lineage) system, and began the building of the greatest civilization. The greatest in-depth review and concentration of research should be focused on this second period. It was, in fact, the Golden Age in the history of the Blacks, the age in which they reached the pinnacle of the glory so dazzling in achievements that Western and Arab writers felt compelled to erase it by the sheer power of their position and begin Black history over 3,000 years later, limiting such as they allowed to "Africa South of the Sahara."

The third period of Black history in Egypt should begin with the Seventh Dynasty, 2181 (B.C.) and be subdivided into the tragic

4. Earlier dates, such as 4500 B.C., are also given and accepted by many authorities; for conflicting dates do appear in ancient records. I do not debate the point.

periods of internal turmoil and white invasions. The first subdivision would be from 2181 B.C. to 2040 (B.C.)—the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Dynasties.. Thereafter, strict chronology should be ignored in order to focus on a single issue: The role of invasions and conquests in the destruction of Black civilization, with the resulting ethnic transformation of Egypt from black to brown (Afro-Asian and Afro-European), to white.

This means that the second subdivision would bypass the Restoration period of the great Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties for the next period of invasion and conquest—the Hebrew (Hyksos) rule, 1645-1567 (B.C.). Again, bypassing the New Empire, the other subdivisions would study the periods of the Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Roman and Arab invasions and the impact of their conquests and rule on the Blacks.

The fourth major division would begin with the skipped-over Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties, 1786-1233 (B.C.), the great Eighteenth, 1567-1320, and then continue from the Age of Ramses to the end of the Twenty-fourth Dynasty, 1330-730.

The fifth period should be from the last of the Black pharaohs to the destruction of the remaining southern division of the Ethiopian Empire below the First Cataract, 730- (B.C.) to the fifth century (A.D.).

The sixth period: From the reemergence of successor Black states in the fifth century (A.D.) to their final destruction by the Arabs in the thirteenth century.

The seventh period, like the second, should not be a time division of neat and largely irrelevant chronological sequences. It is a study of migrations of the Blacks that covered many centuries, but which became more widespread and desperate after the Arab conquest of the original center of Black civilization in the Sudan. The long periods of wandering all over the continent, often aimlessly, was the great historic race of the Blacks for survival—a race that tried to outdistance famine, disease, slavery and death. The period that should have an intense closer-up study and critical analysis extends from the thirteenth century to colonialism in the nineteenth.

Elsewhere I have posed the most perplexing question: If the Blacks were among the very first builders of civilization and their land, the birthplace of civilization, what has happened to them since that left them at the bottom of world society—precisely what hap-

pened? The Caucasian answer is simple and well-known: The Blacks were always at the bottom. This answer is clear even in the histories and other educational material they so busily prepare for the Blacks themselves. Almost all of the true answers will be found in the study of the causes of the migrations and the tragic results stemming directly from those seemingly endless movements of fragmented peoples.

How was the art of writing lost by one of the first peoples to invent it? . . . Study the migrations. How and why did a once great people with a common origin splinter off into countless little independent societies and chiefdoms from which 2,000 different languages and dialects developed? . . . Study the migrations. What caused the brother-against-brother internecine wars, hatreds, slavery and mutual suspicion among the various Black societies? . . . Again, study the migrations!

There would be several subdivisions of great importance. Slavery and the slave trade, for example, would include Africa, Asia and the Americas. This would be the background for later periods covering Black history in the United States, South America and the Caribbean areas.

The eighth division is the reemergence of African kingdoms and empires, by regions, between the tenth and nineteenth centuries. This was the period during which there were attempts in every region of Africa to restore the glory that was Ethiopia's. It is doubtful if any of these black states realized that they were being slowly but steadily surrounded and hemmed in from all directions by invaders from the seacoasts and across the Sahara. The ultimate fall of the Black states, first under Islamic and then under European Christian blows, closed this period with the triumph of colonialism.

The final period is the Black Revolution that ended *political* colonialism with the rise of *politically* independent states. This would take us from 1950 to the present, and should be subdivided for developments in Black America, South America and the "Islands of the Seas."

From the new approach and plan for research study and development of African history presented above 'periodization,' while recognized as highly important, is not allowed to so fragment a great movement or development covering many periods and milleniums that their real significance is lost. Examples are the ethnic trans-

formation of Egypt from black to brown to white, and the long centuries of the great migrations. These defied periodization in any meaningful sense.

I only made passing reference in the work to Blacks scattered outside of Africa over the world—not from the slave trade, but dispersions that began in prehistory. This fact alone indicates the great tasks of future scholarship on the real history of the race. We are actually just on the threshold, gathering up some important missing fragments. The biggest jobs are still ahead.

Ancient China and the Far East, for example, must be a special area of African research. How do we explain such a large population of Blacks in Southern China—powerful enough to form a kingdom of their own? Or the Black people of Formosa, Australia, the Malay peninsula, Indo-China, the Andaman's and numerous other islands? The heavy concentration of Africans in India, and the evidence that the earliest Aryan chiefs were black (which will make Hitler rise from his grave) open still another interesting field for investigation. Even the "Negroid" finds in early Europe appear not to be as challenging as the black population centers in Asia. For, again, reference is not made to small groups which may have wandered anywhere over the earth; rather, our concern is with great and dominant populations. These are the Blacks who have so puzzled Western scholars that some theorize that Asia or Europe may be the homeland of Africans after all. The African populations in Palestine, Arabia and Mesopotamia are better known, although the many centuries of Black rule over Palestine, South Arabia, and in Mesopotamia should be studied and elaborated in more detail. All of this will call for a new kind of scholarship, a scholarship without any mission other than the discovery of truth, and one that will not tremble with fear when that truth is contrary to what one prefers to believe.

Nothing is clearer than the tragic fact that Africa, like the rest of the Black world, has only the illusion of being free and independent. It is only about one-third free. It is still as economically ensnared as it ever was—in some respects more so. The study of this period and the conditions it presents will confront the Blacks of the world with the final challenge. The response to that challenge will be the test of the genius of the race. The outcome and, indeed, the whole future of the race depends upon the extent to

which we have become intellectually emancipated and *decaucasianized* enough to pioneer in original thinking. Those who do become free in fact, will no longer readily grab the white man's ideologies and systems whether Capitalism, the Western version of democracy, or Communism—without a critical review and analysis to determine whether Africa's own traditional system, when updated, may not be truly superior and best fitted to meet the aspirations of the Black world. This last period, then, is the time of great decisions. It may well be the black race's last chance for a rebirth and salvation.

The division proposed above for a new approach in the research, teaching and study of African history will outrage most Western and Arab scholars—along with their subservient Negro followers—because I have shifted the main focus from the history of Arabs and Europeans in Africa to the Africans themselves—a history of the Blacks *that is a history of Blacks*. They will be coming back—center stage—into their own history at last. But to what end? Will it be just for the intellectual satisfaction of *knowing* our true history? Knowing it, yes—but *so what?* The answer is *nothing*—unless from history we learn what our strengths were and, especially, in what particular aspect we were weak and vulnerable. Our history can then become at once the foundation and guiding light for united efforts in serious planning what we should be about now.

CHAPTER I

The Overview

THE LAND OF THE BLACKS WAS A VAST LAND—A BIG world into itself covering 12,000,000 square miles. From its northernmost point in what is now Tunisia to Cape Agulhas is approximately 5,000 miles, and in its widest extent from east to west it is 4,600 miles. The whole of this second largest continent was once *Bilad as Sudan*, "The Land of the Blacks"—and not just the southern region to which they had been steadily pushed from the north. After Asian, Greek and Roman occupations the term 'Sudan' came to indicate the areas not yet taken from the Blacks and was co-extensive with the Ethiopian empire.

For the Ethiopian empire once extended from the Mediterranean north and southward to the source of the Nile in the country (Abyssinia) which recently reverted to the ancient name of the Ethiopian empire of which in earlier times it formed its southeastern provinces. Even as late as the times of Menes, 3,100 B.C., Ethiopia still included three-fourths of Egypt—or up to twenty-nine degrees North parallel. The Asians held the Delta region—hence "The Two Lands," well-known to all historians but never fully explained. (To explain the "Two Lands" of course would blast the myth about the builders of Egyptian Civilization).

It was pointed out that the study of the Blacks must begin in Egypt because more of their indestructible monuments are there; and, further, because many of the artifacts archaeologists have been uncovering during the past seventy-five years as "Egyptian" are in fact "African." Yet the very "Heartland of the Race" and the cradle

of civilization were actually further southward below the First Cataract, centered around the capital cities of Napata and Meroe. From there black civilization spread northward, reaching its most spectacular achievements in what became known as "Egyptian Civilization."

The general condition of vast stretches of land over the continent—uninhabited and uninhabitable, seemed to support the Western thesis that Africans never developed any worthwhile civilization, had no notable historic past and, the more charitable might add, that in the very nature of their situation it could not be otherwise. Samuel Baker went far in promoting the idea of African innate inferiority even if he had to use the most forbidding area in Africa to do it—the terrible swamplands of the Sudd, an area south of Khartoum that in its full extent is as big as England. No one would claim that any kind of society, civilized or savage, could exist in the Sudd Swamplands, probably the largest in the world. For it was neither all land nor water, but a seemingly endless mass of rotting vegetation, interwoven tree-like vines, steaming heat, swarming man-killing mosquitoes, crocodiles, hippos and other unknown forms of tropical life. The conclusion of Baker and others was that they were in a land where time had stood still since its beginning, where life never advanced and the human species has simply rotated in aimless cycles like the animal life in the Sudd.

As late as the 1840's and 50's these explorers, even the most ignorant, should have known that in the same vast continent of wastelands, tropical rain forests and swamplands, there were also areas of arable land and civilized states. But they wrote about what they saw the most of: vast stretches of wasteland and secluded groups of "strange" people.

But, as we shall see, some of the great kingdoms and empire-builders in Africa seem not to have known the meaning of failure or had any ideas about surrendering to fate. Ejected here, they led the people there—and began to build again.

Wherever the splintered-off refugee groups found a place where the soil seemed favorable for cultivation, and the land unoccupied by preceding migrants, they settled and began to build villages again. A sense of relative security was a necessary factor in deciding to begin a new settlement. A crucial question was, how many miles had they put between the slave hunters and themselves? For the kind of houses and community buildings they would erect depended

directly on the probability of permanent settlement or sudden flight again. In short, whether to build large, sturdy and attractive compound homes and temples of worship or easily demolished huts.

It was for reasons of security that so many of these groups—later called tribes or societies—sought the most hidden and isolated areas they could find. This permanent separation from their kinsmen in other groups was generally quite contrary to their hearts' desires. The original splintering off and parting was often in tears. But breaking up into smaller units seemed to be the only route to survival in a permanent crisis situation—apparently permanent, since the movement of people over the continent had been going on so far beyond the memory of each generation that migrations and temporary settlements were among the most significant facts in the oral tradition of each society.

Fragmentation and isolation had two momentous consequences. The first was that the isolation of various groups led to the development of over two thousand different dialects and languages. The second fateful outcome was that the rise of all these tongues widened the gulf between the blacks that territorial distances had already achieved. One should pause here for reflection if there is any serious attempt to really understand what happened to the African people and why. For even without the aid of Western writers in emphasizing the language differences and the cultural variations and attempting to show how unrelated the blacks are, they themselves came in time to consider themselves unique and each society not only independent of the other but its enemy, if only potentially. Disunity and mutual suspicion became an African way of life. Small chiefdoms sprang up everywhere, often no more than a single village of one of two hundred people. Africa, therefore, presented itself to Asia and Europe as the ideal land for exploitation, enslavement and conquest.

The history is complex and many-sided, and would be so if we were discussing just one nation and not an entire continent. This is why our focus must be on the main lines of development, the African-wide aspects, and the unmistakable common origin and continent-wide sameness of basic institutions which these universal aspects reflect.

There were, then, different outcomes for different societies. Some perished even to the last member from disease, starvation or

warfare. Others, despairing of ever again being able to have a fixed abode, became nomads. Some, although isolated so long that they had developed different languages and customs, had nevertheless decided that salvation required a union with other groups. These were the tribes that merged with other tribes, lost their separate identity and languages; and who evolved from this process a single common language, larger and large chiefdoms, kingdoms, and finally empires that began the rebirth of their long lost civilization.

The fiercest wars between the blacks occurred in the founding and expansion of new kingdoms and empires. For while the core groups were voluntary confederations, expansion of empire required the conquest of neighboring states, usually small, independent chiefdoms, that preferred to maintain their absolute sovereignty. The repercussions from this forced unity by conquests were to shake the continent from end to end centuries later when European political rule ended.

Modern Africans and students of Africa have tended to emphasize the destructive impact of European imperialism in Africa while ignoring the most damaging developments from the Arab impact *before* the general European take-over in the last quarter of the nineteenth century—a relatively recent period. This point is important. For one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of the Blacks is that dealing with those dauntless leaders and people who, having lost one state after another along with three-fourths of their kinsmen, nevertheless overrode all the forces of destruction and death and began to build—always once again—still another state. From the earliest times the elimination of these states as independent African sovereignties had been an Asian objective, stepped up by Muslim onslaughts after the Seventh century A.D. So the re-established black states were still being conquered and Islamized when Europeans began to arrive in greater numbers to impose their rule over both Asians and Africans. The big thing that happened here, to repeat, is generally glossed over, ignored or forgotten. The last being a pretension, since a historical development of this magnitude could hardly be forgotten by serious writers on Africa. For what happened very simply was that European imperialism in Africa checked and replaced Arab imperialism. The Arab screams against Western imperialism are the screams of outrage against Western Caucasians for checking and subduing Eastern

Caucasians in the very midst of the blacks they had conquered. There are still countless thousands of blacks who are naive enough to believe that the Arabs' bitter attack on Western colonialism show their common cause with Black Africa.

* * *

Insofar as those who were fortunate enough to find promising areas for settlement are concerned, the picture was generally one of state building and the revival of basic African institutions which, though not forgotten, could neither be maintained nor developed by any people forever on the move.

But what about the countless societies, fleeing before the conquering hordes and the enslavers, as well as famine and the deaths which were its daily companion, —what about those who found no Promised Land anywhere? For quite unlike the societies I mentioned that could settle down and had the opportunity to start and develop civilizations comparable to any elsewhere in the world at the time, these people could neither settle down nor, therefore, develop a civilization. What they suffered from year to year as they wandered over the continent is almost beyond both description and belief. In fact, while the story is well-known, few writers would want to go into its awful details. Suffice to say at this point that, here now were numerous societies of Africans that were virtually sentenced either to death from starvation or enslavement by Arabs (I am still in the pre-European period) or barbarism and savagery and, in many cases, even cannibalism.

Under such conditions I would defend not only the retrogression of these people to barbarism but to cannibalism itself. The defense of the latter is easy, since it has been well established that other supposedly highly civilized men will revert to savagery and cannibalism under prolonged conditions of extreme hunger and thirst, when survival itself is the only question that dominates the hunger-crazed mind. This phenomenon of reverting to a state of savagery and even cannibalism under extreme conditions of starvation is known to occur universally among various peoples—white, black, brown, red, or yellow.

The facts we have, then, show that after they lost Egypt and the Eastern Sudan, some Africans, overriding all adverse conditions,

grouped themselves to form nations and developed a high order of civilization independent of any external influences. Others never settled anywhere long enough to develop anything notable, but seemed to remain in a state of lethargy or suspended animation. They had surrendered to fate and became too weak to fight back. They descended to a state of semi-barbarism. "Descended," because most of these societies had known better times and a higher order of life. Some in more favorable circumstances, nevertheless, failed to advance. Still others were in the class discussed in connection with cannibalism—hunger-crazed people who had sunk to the lowest levels of dog-eat-dog existence. These last are the people about whom European and American authors delight to write. No cartoons are better known than those showing a sweating white man (usually an explorer or missionary) being cooked in a huge black pot, while black savages dance around with human bones decorating their heads or stuck through pierced noses. The idea these "experts" on Africa have been planting in the minds of the peoples of the world—and are still actively planting—is that "This is Africa, and these are the savages who are now clamoring for independence!"

NATURE JOINS THE ATTACK

The question of physiography, vegetation, climate, water and soil are all more crucial in the history of the Blacks than they are in the case of any other people. (For here a whole continent is involved, and on that continent a people who in one period of time were among the foremost people on earth, and in a later period the farthest behind.) Nature itself set an environmental stage in a manner and under conditions which appear to have been designed to test to the utmost (one race's moral, intellectual and physical powers to override all obstacles to survival.)

The slow but relentlessly steady withdrawal of inhabitable land over the centuries eventually left Africa a land of desolation, a wasteland, the greater part of which was desert and treeless grassland with only a fractional part, about ten percent, with the much needed forests and thickets. Even the continental land configuration was against its native inhabitants. Like a vast inclined plane, the highlands, beginning in Central Africa at 3,000 feet above sea

level, rose southward to higher and higher levels, reaching the highest level of 15,000 feet in the Southeastern provinces of the ancient Ethiopian empire. This caused Africa to slope northward and its principal rivers—the Nile in particular—to flow in the same directions. This single circumstance caused the blacks to lose the very earliest centers of their civilization and the Heartland of the race—Egypt and the southern area that was later called the Sudan (or Land of the Blacks, just as though Egypt itself was not also formerly the "Land of the Blacks"). For the greatest of their rivers, the Nile, played still another tragic joke on its people. This river, the longest in the world, flows 4,127 miles across Africa from Lake Nyanza to the Mediterranean. Yet not until it reaches Assuan (Aswan) and begins its last stretch of 750 miles to the sea does it overflow to further enrich 13,500 square miles of already fertile soil in Egypt! For its 3,377 miles through the heart of Black Africa, the Nile sank as it cut deep canyons in its soft limestone floor, leaving cliffs at places from a few hundred to a thousand feet high. What this means is that for over 3,000 miles through the eastern side of the continent the Nile was collecting the rich soil carried to it by the heavy rains and a thousand tributary streams. These flow into the "Mother of Rivers" and add to the enrichment of its waters flowing northward, "guarded" all the way by her deep channels until it reaches the hard sandstone bottom above Assuan and then begins its periodic overflow the rest of the way to the sea! Here a natural phenomenon cheated the Africans in a big way that was to have dire consequences. There could be no black "Daughter of the Nile," observed Parsons in his *Streams of History*. For the Nile, in making Upper Ethiopia (Egypt) so rich in food production that it became world famous not only as the "Bread Basket of the World" but also for its highly advanced civilization, stirred the envy of Asia and Europe—from which continents migrants began to settle.

(Even in this, the physical geography of Africa was favorable to the "peaceful" settlers who later were to become its conquerors and rulers; for the seacoast is lowland everywhere, not more than 500 feet above sea level, and remains lowland 500 miles inland. Asian and European occupation of the sea coasts of North Africa and East Africa was, therefore, relatively easy, and probably even welcomed at first by the Blacks as co-partners in world trade. But the

poor and hungry nomads from the vast desert areas of the Middle East poured into the most fertile and easily accessible areas of this other land of deserts that is North Africa.

There were several consequences of the greatest historical importance which are generally not sufficiently stressed. The first was that both the Saharan transformation and the steady incursion of Asians pressured more and more Blacks back into the interior to concentrate in the already limited survival areas where just to subsist was a daily struggle. The second important result was the widespread amalgamation of the races. For the weaker, more submissive blacks remained in Asian-occupied territory to become slave laborers and slave soldiers, and to witness a ruthless sexual traffic in Black women that gave rise to a new breed of Afro-Asians. These were classed as Caucasians or Asians. They themselves bitterly objected to being identified with the race of their mothers—African. When these later became known as Egyptians in Egypt, Moors in Morocco and Mauretanians or Carthaginians in Carthage (Tunis) great care was taken to distinguish them from Africans in daily intercourse, in paintings and in documentary literature. This "New Breed," half-African, was to join with their Asian fathers and forefathers in the wars and enslaving raids against the blacks that went on century after century until all North Africa was eventually taken.

Still another fateful geographical factor that favored the invaders has been implied or partly stated in the foregoing observations. Aside from the easy occupation of the lowlands of the seacoast and the gradual taking over of the rich lands of the Nile valley and its ancient civilization, both Asians and Europeans found the highlands of southern and eastern Africa "more pleasant and healthy for Caucasian settlement." This meant that even after nature had damned three-fourths of the continent's land mass as impossible to support human life, the Asians and Europeans came in to seize and hold the best of the one-fourth that was left. The Blacks found themselves cut off from all seacoasts that then mattered, hemmed in from all directions, and confined within narrower and narrower limits. Thus they became a wandering people, forever migrating in their own vast homeland, fragmenting from great united nations into countless little splinter societies, becoming so isolated from each other that each formed a new language of its own, considered itself quite different from its original brothers—

now regarded as strangers and enemies in the endless tribal wars that ensued over the inhabitable land. The land over which these struggles went on varied in different regions. So did the climate that so greatly affected it; the people and even some of their institutions varied under environmental influences. The land mass in the eastern regions, for example, has been undergoing a vertical movement of elevation and sinking along with a leveling process occasioned by the atmosphere and weathering since Miocene times. Geologists trace the elevation of the mountains in the area—even Kilimanjaro—and the faulting and fracturing that created the Great Rift, to early volcanic activity.

In the arid and semi-arid regions there are vast stretches of desolate land which were not made so by nature alone. For, like the Sahara itself, much of it was once woodland where animal life flourished and streams flowed. Man played the leading role in its destruction by fire in his shifting farm methods. Animals helped in the process. The relation of green grass and forest to climate and climate to rainfall seems not to have been known or fully appreciated. In treeless and grassless areas the periodic rains evaporate into non-water-holding earth. One may travel hundreds of miles over regions of this kind without finding a single stream. All rivers and streams have disappeared like the rain-drops in the sand. Because of the same physical characteristics of the land previously discussed, irrigation was extremely difficult, and in most places impossible, outside of Egypt.

We have spoken so much about African deserts of sand and rocks that one might be misled by thinking that it was this kind of land alone that could not support a population. But there were vast non-desert areas of hard red and red-brown soil that had been leached by heavy rainfall, robbed of its essential elements for vegetation (such as calcium and phosphorus), and, of course, its once rich humus of top-soil. This continuous weathering was obviously destructive. The soil problem was further aggravated by having underneath floors of hard laterite elements—just as though there was a master plan to guarantee that this soil would not hold any water. Therefore the problem involved far more than restoring top-soil and a land conservation program to prevent erosion, because this hard floor underneath drains away the rainfall as fast as it reached that level. "No corner or scrap of land in Africa has

escaped hunger," says Josue de Castro in his *Geography of Hunger*. "This is a continent of the starving, all of it. And in hunger and chronic malnutrition may be found one of the most decisive reasons for the backwardness of Africa, for the relative stagnation and lassitude of the greater part of its people."

But the "Garden of Eden" areas must not be overlooked when we are considering the general, overall conditions. These are areas which, while not comparable to the rich flood plains of the Nile valley and Delta, have unfertilized soil that nevertheless produce a surprisingly rapid growth of abundant vegetation and a heavy concentration of animal and bird life. These are the areas where fruits and nuts of many varieties grow in abundance without the aid of man. Without these areas of salvation here and there over the continent, along with pastoral grazing land, the Blacks as a race would have doubtlessly perished from the earth.

They almost did. The trend once seemed to be definitely in the direction of extinction. Even if we dismiss accounts of planned mass extermination by their enemies as "unreliable," too many other threats to survival remained to darken every ray of hope. Disease was everywhere the offspring of distress, privation, hunger and malnutrition. It spread over the land as advance scouts for death. Over half of Africa's babies were either born dead or died soon after birth. Old age was between forty and fifty years. Three-fourths of the people—even today in our own time—are still weakened by malnutrition and malarial water, and a number of diseases that are largely traceable to these two causes—beriberi, pellagra, scurvy and even leprosy. The scourge of childhood is Kwaskiokor, or malignant malnutrition.

This accelerated depopulation of the black man's countries resulting from the nature of soil and climate, mass enslavement, deaths in resisting slavery, wars of conquest, intertribal conflicts, exhaustions from endless flights and migrations and ever-present disease—all this reduced the black population by three fourths! Under reasonable, favorable conditions, the African population today would be four times its present number. And when it is pointed out that three-fourths of the people today are still weakened by malaria and malnutrition, reference is made to the one-fourth of the people who survived in spite of it all.

How, then, were the Blacks able to battle invading enemies

from one end of the continent to the other for several thousand years? True, they were overcome in the end, but what sustained them through all those centuries of struggle on so many different fronts and against so many different kinds of enemies? Weakened so generally by both disease and what became perpetual hunger, whence came their strength and courage to carry on? It may well be that the answers lie in the death-defying pyramids they built in Egypt when the land was theirs. There must be a number of pre-conditions without which the genius of any people for thinking, inventing, discovering and building will be inhibited and may even die under extreme circumstances.

PRE-CONDITIONS FOR PROGRESS

A few of these pre-conditions for progress are: (1) The people must become famine-free, and be able to end their perennial roaming from place to place in search of food and water, and settle down. (2) Having found suitable territory, the leaders must proceed, through negotiations with other neighboring societies and fragmented groups, to *nation-building*. (3) There must be developed—and this is a crucial pre-condition—a sense of national community among the various language groups that make up the country. This is so important that it cannot be left to wishful thinking or chance. It must be *programmed* in such a way that a sense of loyalty and of being an important part of a great united brotherhood, which is the nation itself, will develop naturally. (4) A strong army for defense. (5) The reign of law and justice, applying equally to all classes in the society. The people must feel absolutely secure as individuals, and that in *their* country there is equal justice for all.

In short, certain conditions in a country can bring about that internal peace, stability, and confidence which unshackle the mind. There is now *time to think*. No more trekking with bleeding feet for hundreds of miles across rocky deserts. No more seeing your kinsmen fall out and welcome death along the way. A home at last, better farms, plenty of food. And now . . . *time to think*.

There is nothing mystical about the reasons why one group of people can easily become physically and mentally strong while another becomes physically weak and less mentally alert. An abun-

dance of nutritious food and pure drinking water may spell the difference between advance and decay. The number of death-dealing diseases developing from malnutrition alone is alarming. But what should be stressed above everything else is that millions of babies may become both physically and mentally retarded by disease while in their mother's wombs—which is another way of saying that a people wholly ignorant or indifferent to basic health can themselves become inferior in fact. But even this central fact, when fully realized, will still remain in the field of mere discussion until Blacks everywhere begin mass organization for mass education of the masses. The system is so structured—world-wide—that Blacks are forced into conditions that can lead to inferiority even genetically. There must be a breakthrough or gradual extinction. This is the final pre-condition for survival and advancement.

Your attention is called again to the map of Africa, for it is very significant where the earliest invaders entered and permanently settled. They took over the areas of trade and easy contacts with their homeland and the other nations of the world—a point that simply cannot be overstressed in considering the plight of the African people. In the north they settled around the Mediterranean, thereby maintaining contact with Europe and Asia. In the northeast, east, and south, they settled along the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, thereby keeping in touch with their homeland and the trade with countries farther away. Black Africa was thus hemmed in and effectively cut off commercially and otherwise from the rest of the world.

The techniques of penetration and dominance were varied. Some came as peaceful traders and, doubtless, trade was all that was intended by many. Africans were always eager traders. The main attraction of foreign traders was that they brought in many new kinds of commodities. These traders had little or no trouble in gaining coastal footholds as trading posts. The land was not sold, but leased. However, the Blacks had what the world wanted most: Gold, diamonds, ivory, copper, iron ore and, themselves.

The "trading posts" soon became strong fortifications around which villages and towns sprang up as settlers from Asia poured in and armed forces became organized. The Africans watched these developments with increasing apprehension, for the "traders" were often armed with superior and different types of weapons of war

and spent much time in training recruits, including Africans. Indeed, in some areas a definite pattern emerged: an all-African army under Asian officers (a pattern to be followed later by the Europeans).

This was easy enough for the Arabs. They owned the captured Africans who made up their fighting forces. The Africans could blame only themselves for this. Here, as in certain other things, they were still engaged in practices which, while once universal, had long since been dying out or generally abandoned by the rest of the world. This one was the enslavement of captured prisoners of war. When African chiefs and kings began to sell these to slave-hungry Arabs, they set in motion a chain of events that was to undermine the civilizations of the most advanced societies on the continent, further checking their progress and degrading their whole race for another two thousand years. When the sale of their fellows became the chief source of wealth, African leaders became increasingly estranged from the finest thing in African life, the sense of community and of kinship with all who would be friends. When greed severed the traditional ties of brotherhood, gradual movement of the invaders from the coastal areas inland became relatively easy. Blacks against blacks with increasing suspicion and hatred may be traced to the Africans' own slave raids. The inland raids for slaves were resisted by some chiefs and the raiders were attacked. But this opposition was not always due to any opposition to slavery, but to this kind of direct action which by-passed the chiefs and thereby eliminated their profits.¹

THE CONQUEST OF THE BLACKS BY RELIGION

Other invaders found penetration easy under the banners of religion. Full advantage was taken of the fact that Africans are a very religious people.² First came the Crescent flag of the Prophet.

1. There were, however, numerous chiefs who not only opposed slavery, but fought against it to the death—literally. Some were encircled and with their whole people died fighting the enslaver to the end.

2. The Christian churches of 4th century Africa were independent of Western imperialism. They therefore could not be used as bases.

The Islamic advance was three-pronged: proselytizing missions claiming one brotherhood; widespread intermarriages and concubinage with African women, due to Muslim system of polygamy; and forceful conversions at sword point. The Cross of Jesus Christ followed the Muslim Crescent. The cloak of Christianity was a most convenient hiding place for those who had other designs. Hence the drive to convert. Conversion here meant far more than conversion to Christianity. As in the case of Islam, it meant change into the white man's image, his ideas and value system. The real object of worship turned out to be neither Jesus Christ nor his Father, God, but Western man and Western civilization. Christian brotherhood? Well, eh, yes! *In principle*. Or, to be practical, you blacks can have all the Christian brotherhood you desire—among yourselves. *Apartheid* was Africa-wide under colonialism, and not a peculiarity of the South African system as so many are led to think.³

But what happened in the process of converting the blacks to Islam and Christianity was the supreme triumph of the white world over the black. Millions of Africans became non-Africans. Africans who were neither Muslims nor Christians were classed as "pagans" and therefore required to disavow their whole culture and to regard practically all African institutions as "backward" or savage. The blacks in their own right became non-persons—members of a race of nobodies, and so hopeless that self-realization as personalities, even in a subordinate status, could only be achieved by becoming Muslims or Christians. Indeed, in order to destroy completely not only their African heritage but also their very African identity psychologically, they were forced to change their names to Arabic and Christian names. Henceforth, if these black Emils, Johns, Muhammads, Samuels, and Abdullahs happened to achieve greatness in some field, the assumption would be that it was Caucasian achievement, unless a special effort was made to identify the race of the persons in question. Blacks at home in Africa and blacks scattered over the world bore the names of their enslavers and oppressors—the ultimate in self-effacement that promoted a self-hatred which made pride in race difficult. That these

3. The pattern of continent-wide segregated communities can be seen even today in independent African states.

psychological shackles still handicap not only the rebirth of modern African states but also blacks everywhere should be obvious to all.

Finally, there were the invaders who apparently disdained the cloak of deception and came in fighting. They had no problems. They knew in advance that they would find the Africans almost everywhere unprepared to defend themselves against a well-organized, well-trained body of men, no matter how small. This situation developed as splinter, independent little states became more and more numerous. The use of secret agents seems to be as old as organized states; for the practice of sending spies as goodwill ambassadors, traders, etc., well in advance into a country to be invaded goes far back into antiquity. Those sent into Africa from various lands could report back that:

1. The Africans were largely a peaceful people engaged in agriculture, mining trade, fishing, the arts, crafts of various kinds and manufacturing such things as pottery, furniture, building materials, boats, weapons of war, etc.

2. That these settled states and their generally highly developed social and political systems indicate their advanced civilization.

3. But that they are ill-prepared for war, except against their neighbors, who also use the kind of spears, bows and arrows which we abandoned long since.

4. In general, they have no swiftly moving mounted soldiers. One hundred of our dashing calvarymen with fire-power could put 10,000 of them to flight.

5. They are a secretive people. For while they are fully aware of the great mineral wealth of the continent, they use it in a very limited way, mainly for personal adornment, and have no desire to open up to foreigners for world commerce that would greatly benefit them. They accordingly rigidly limit their trading activities, but mainly because Asians hold all of their seacoasts and have them cut off from the world and its trade.

6. Finally, the whole of Africa could, with a few exceptions, be progresisvely taken over simply by picking off one small state after another. For the over-all pattern of the continent is one of countless small independent groups, each for itself and itself alone. There is no unity among them, even for a common defense. Since it is the first duty of each chief to protect his people, all seem to

be too proud to seek unity with other chiefs, thinking this might indicate a sign of weakness and itself invite attack. . . .

Therefore it could have been truthfully reported to either Asia or Europe any time during the last thousand years that the widespread segmentation and attending disunity among the Africans made them easy to conquer and dominate.

(Some of these six hypothetical items would be valid as conclusions regarding a general situation only after the widespread collapse of strong African states, when small splinter states spread over the continent like an epidemic. But, as we shall see, the united resistance of the Blacks to white Asian invasions had been going on before recorded history began; and, despite all the segmentations and endless invasions from the North, South, East and West, there were black nations that kept up the resistance of five thousand years right down into the 20th century. We shall review some of these in chapters which follow.

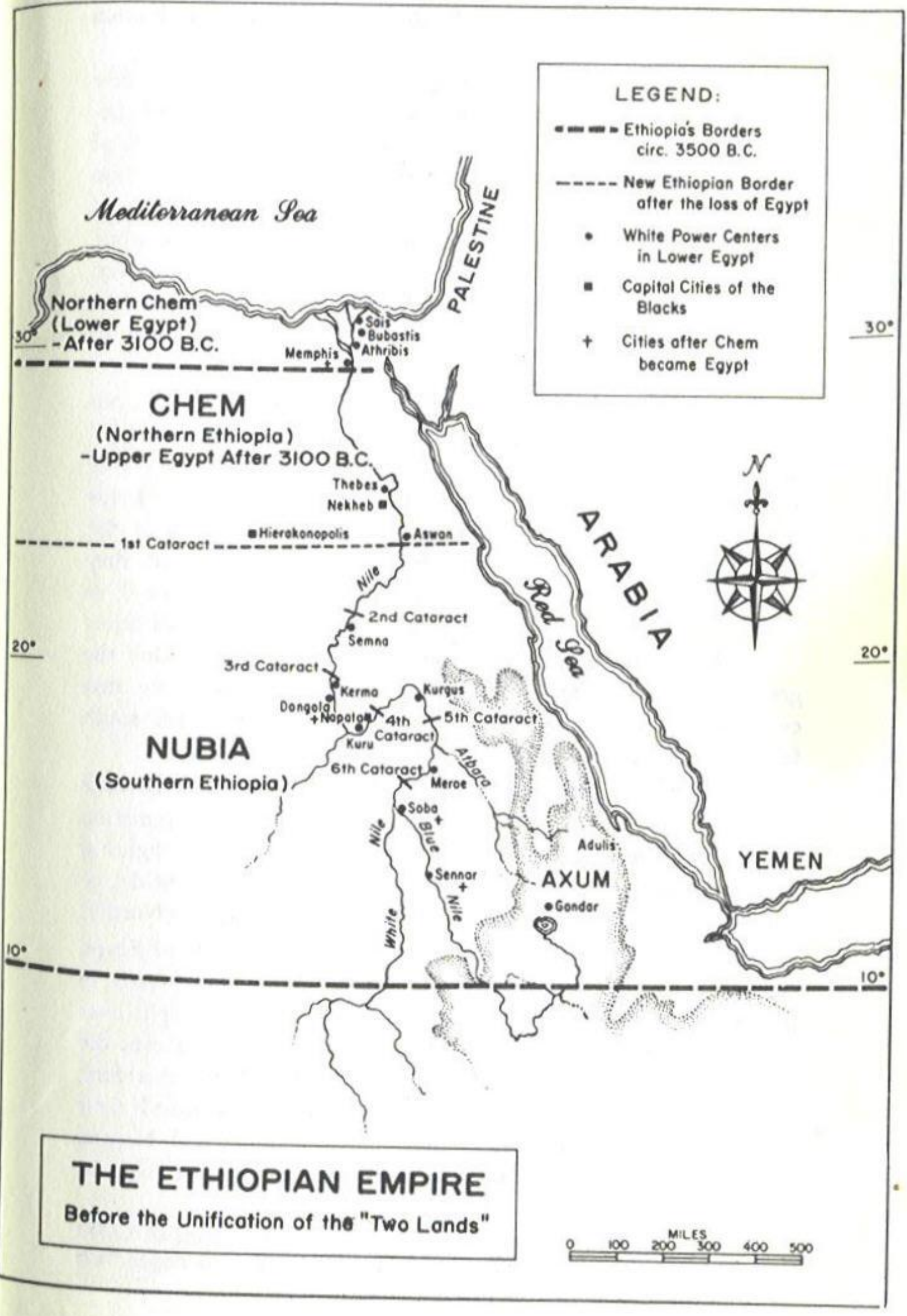
CHAPTER II

Ethiopia's Oldest Daughter: Egypt

THE GREAT DECEPTION

EGYPT, AS POINTED OUT BEFORE, WAS THE NORTH-eastern region of ancient Ethiopia. The six cataracts of the Nile were the great watermarks in the heartland of the Blacks from whence African culture spread over the continent, but nowhere was it as pronounced as in Egypt. This northern sector of the Ethiopian empire had been the object of world attention from the earliest times. The fact was that it was in the center of the cross-roads from all directions leading into Africa from Asia and Europe. This also explains how the Asians came to occupy and control a fourth of Egypt (Lower Egypt) before the unification of the "Two Lands" in the third millenium B.C. With the relentless spread of the desert and the attending scarcity of arable land there was a heavier concentration of Africans in the Nile delta and valley—the areas with the richest soil in the empire. The great agricultural system that was developed along the overflowing Nile was one of the sources of the wealth to support the great cultural advances. The other was the gold mines below the First Cataract. This was also the magnet that drew Caucasian peoples from many lands. As these increased in number and variety, the undermining of Black power was accelerated.

The melting pot of the races began around the northern perimeter. The end result was always the same: The Blacks were pushed to the bottom of the social, economical and political ladder whenever and wherever the Asians and their mulatto offsprings gained



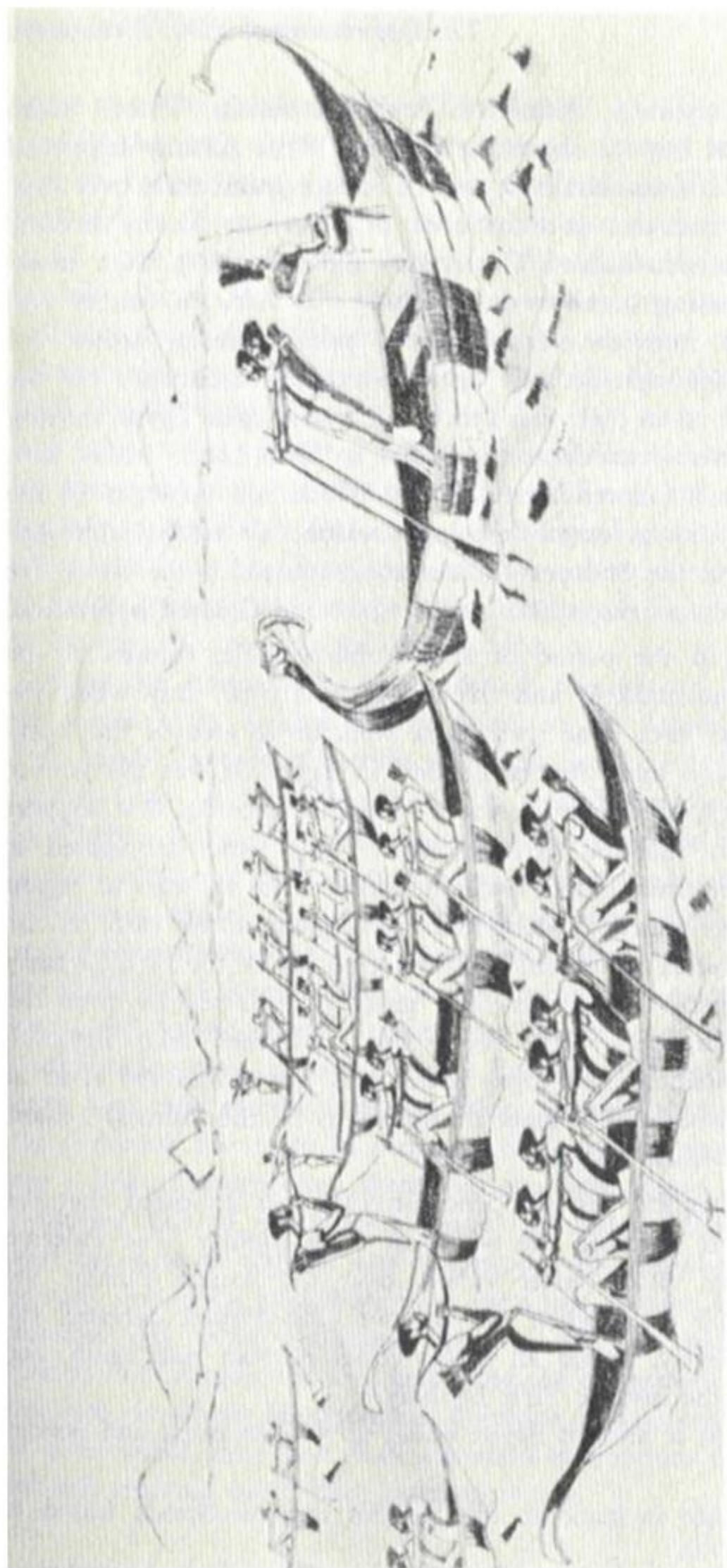
control. This scheme of weakening the Blacks by turning their half-white brothers against them cannot be overemphasized because it began in the early times, became the universal practice of whites, and is still one of the corner-stones in the edifice of White Power. The white Asians were generally very proud of their sons by Black women. But these Black mothers remained slaves, while their mulatto sons and daughters were born free and, moreover, classified as "white." As such they formed a social class that, while never recognized as equal with the "real whites," had just about all the other privileges of free men.

The picture was generally the same from about 4,000¹ B.C., onward. In the Asian held areas in the north, the Blacks had hard choices to make. As elsewhere on the continent, they had the choice of remaining in their homeland and being reduced to the status of servants and slaves; or if they were well-to-do members of the professional classes, architects, engineers or skilled craftsmen, they could remain, become integrated in Asian society, be classed as "white" and even hold high positions; or, finally, they could reject integration into Asian culture and migrate southwards. This the great majority did. It is therefore not without significance that even today a number of African tribes four thousand miles south from Egypt still claim it as their ancestral homeland.

There were blacks who neither fled before the Asian advance nor submitted to enslavement. These, also rejecting amalgamation as the process of transforming the race, stood their ground fighting back and were generally wiped out. In short, the Africans held Upper Egypt (South) while the Asiatics held Lower Egypt (North).

Kurt Sethe, in attempting to reconstruct the prehistory of Egypt, concluded that the division of the country between Africans in the south and Asiatics in the north was due mostly to a split over religion. According to this view, the Africans refused to accept the cult of Horus that dominated the Nile delta. They, therefore, formed a "second nation" in Upper Egypt and established their national religious shrines at Omnos, Thebes, Thines and Napata. Other scholars insist that the "Two Lands" meant that the Africans

1. Note that throughout this work I refer to time spans of 6,000 years, 5,000 years, 4,000 years, 3,000 etc. The variations depend on the time span of the developments under discussion.



Menes, Ethiopian King of Kings, leading his army and Nile fleet to retake Northern Ethiopia from the Asians (Chem, later called Lower Egypt), and founding the First Dynasty, c. 3100 B.C.

had simply separated themselves from the Asians. These, unlike Sethe, do not inquire about the reasons. What actually happened in prehistoric times, however, was on such a grand scale over long periods of time that patterns even of unwritten history became clear and understandable: The Asians and Europeans were entering in increasing numbers and pushing the Africans farther and farther away from the Mediterranean, pushing them farther and farther towards what became "Africa South of the Sahara"; but the Africans had taken their first firm stand *within* their Egypt, making it "Two Lands"—exactly as the Sudan is "Two Lands" today with the Arabs and Colored Arabs in the North and Africans in the South. And also for exactly the same reason: To escape white oppression. And the Sudanese Blacks concentrated in the South for the same ancient reason: To escape white and Colored oppression.

We are in the period of ancient history; the records of the times are unmistakable and the evidence is clear only when the archaeologists have done their work well. In no area of the world have they been more successful than in Egypt. It was the science of archeology, along with ancient historical records, that support my viewpoint that the Africans, while being either subjugated or pushed southwards, fought back in a long series of wars to regain their ancient homeland along the Mediterranean. As early as the end of the fourth millenium B.C., and even before the First Dynasty in Egypt, there are records of a great African victory over the Asians in the north.² The blacks had established their Egyptian capital at Nekheb. The royal palace was just across the river at Nekheb. Thebes and Napata continued to be the cultural centers of the black world.

As the historic period opened in Egypt, it appeared that the Africans were retaking the whole of their country. The Palermo Stone records victory after victory over the Asians. Finally, the great triumph came when the African king Menes, defeated the Asians decisively, united all Egypt under African rule again, and thus began the historic First Dynasty.³

Historians of ancient Egypt would do well to pause and ponder

2. Reference is made to the palettes and maceheads found at Hierakonopolis.

3. There was in fact no "Egypt" before Menes built Memphis.

longer over the question of the "Two Lands." Those who are interested in the truth about the black man's history will be compelled to do so. For the most significant part of the black African's history developed in Egypt, and the division of the country into "Two Lands"—one predominantly Asian and the other African—marked the first great stage of the unending pressures that steadily forced the blacks from the northern areas. But for countless centuries the greater region was held by the blacks. This was the southern region called "Upper Egypt."

It seems quite clear that this see-saw conflict between Africans and Asians covered centuries back into prehistory, just as it was to continue intermittently for nearly five thousand years after Menes. Indeed, the Zanzibar Revolution and the purely racial conflict in the Sudan are simply a present-day continuity of the ancient struggle between the invaders and the invaded.

After the Asian North was subdued, the African capital city was moved from Nekheb in the South to the North where the "Two Lands" met. Here astride what had been the boundary, the "Eternal City" of Memphis was built, named for the king, and, like Thebes, became the focal point of Black power and one of the chief centers of African civilization. In completing the building of Memphis, Menes's nephew apparently believed that he was making the final settlement of the Asian problem, and that this capital city would stand forever. The massive fortification system built to control the Asians stood for centuries. The Africans' literal belief in immortality was reflected in their building and burial arrangements. The early three-chambered, brick mastabas forshadowed the later pyramids that were to surround the city like watchmen and form a line of march from there into the Giza desert.

During one of the longest reigns in history, Menes brought about the kind of stability and innovations in administration that not only provided a solid foundation for a first dynasty, but also the economic and social conditions necessary for the more uniform expansion of religion, the arts, crafts and the mathematical sciences. Here, too, is where Mesopotamia, Palestine and Greece, although not as advanced, may have made cultural contributions to the Africans and received much from them in return.

THE "EXTERNAL INFLUENCE" MYTH

The Greek contribution was the greatest. It was accidental—one of those accidents of history that turns out to be highly important. In this case the Greeks unwittingly applied the second name of the City of Menes (Memphis), "Aigypptos" to the whole country. For Memphis was also called Hikuptah, or the "Mansion of the Sout of Ptah," the god-protector of the city. From the Greek "Aigypptos" Memphis became Egypt, and Egypt became the name of the "Two Lands," extending from the Mediterranean to the First Cataract.

There was no "Egypt" before the black king from whose name it was indirectly derived. Before that the country was called Chem or Chemi—another name indicating its black inhabitants, and not the color of the soil, as some writers have needlessly strained themselves in asserting.

Indeed, the strong predilection of both Europeans and white Asians to replace the names of other peoples and places with their own terminologies was at once a blessing and a curse in the history of the blacks. Not knowing the racist twist that modern history was to take, these early historians, geographers and travelers reported what they found and described peoples in their own terms of speech. In doing so, they established beyond question that the blacks were the first Egyptians and the builders of that ancient civilization. For it was these early writers, and not the blacks, who made it clear that although the invading Euro-Asians had firmly established themselves in about one fourth of Northern Ethiopia (Lower Egypt) as early as the fourth millenium B.C., the Blacks with equal firmness held all the rest from the twenty-ninth north parallel to the tenth south. It was the whites, not the blacks, who called Africa the "Land of the Blacks" until Asian and European invasions made it expedient to change this to mean "African countries not yet taken over by Caucasians"; and later to "Africa South of the Sahara." Even this has to be qualified now as the whites dominate Southern African and Portuguese held areas. The early whites—again, not the blacks—not only defined all Upper Egypt as black to distinguish it from predominantly white Lower Egypt, but they settled the matter for posterity by calling Upper Egypt the The-

bald and the blacks Thebans because Thebes (Nowe) was the oldest and greatest center of black civilization.

The "curse" referred to above concerns the amazing success of modern writers in so blotting out, obscuring or reinterpreting the earlier writers on Africa that the actual role of the blacks in their own land was practically erased from memory. Their strategy of silence worked—and must have worked more successfully than they could have dreamed. The *Great Silence* even fell over the monumental fact that the blacks themselves started the whole dynastic system in Egypt about 3100 B.C., and that the great civilization of world acclaim developed *after* these black regimes began. Greek and Arabic names and the accepted "Caucasoid" features in the conventional style of royal portraits all furthered the great deception.

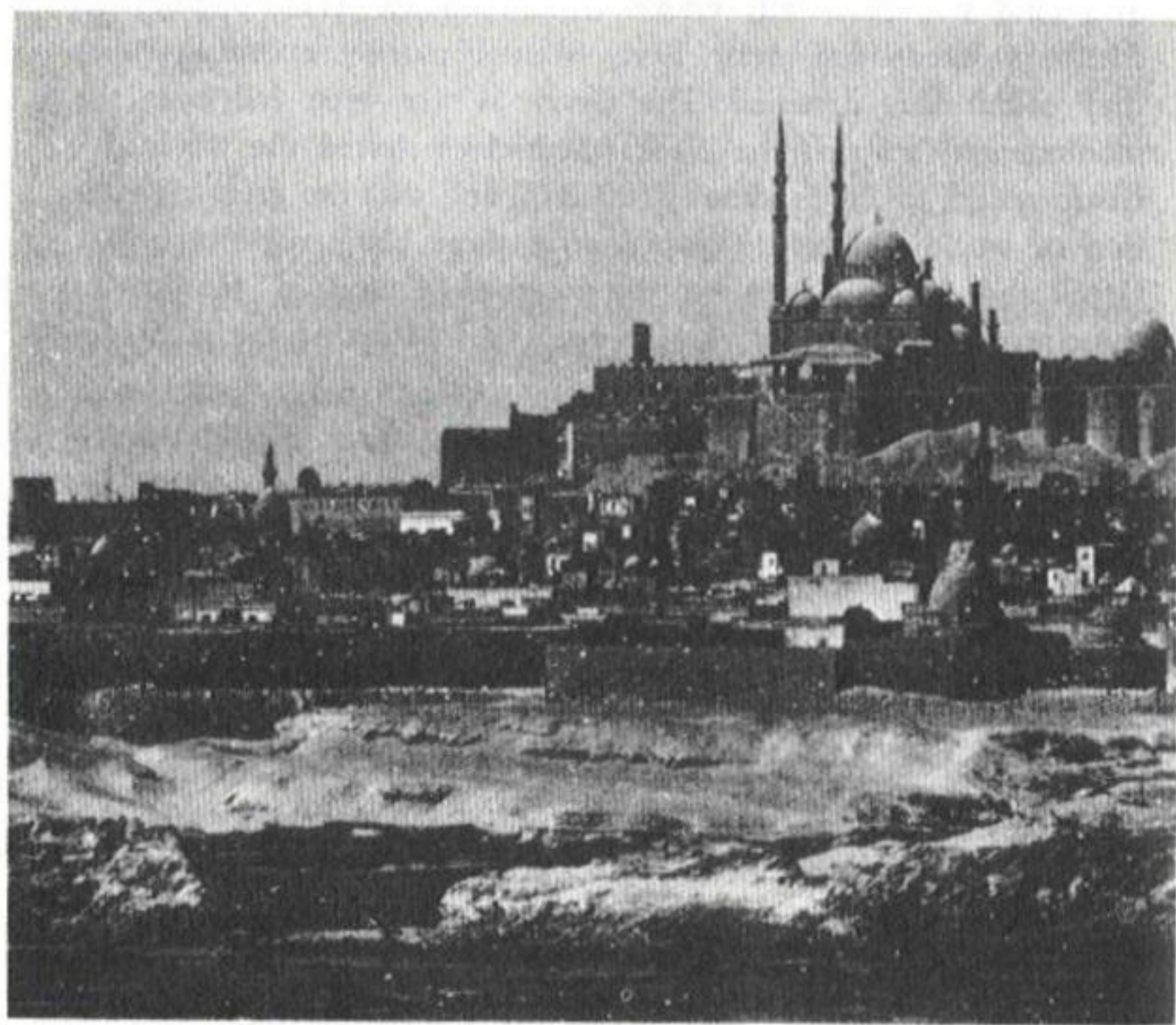
There was also the external influence on early African speech and writing in Egypt. As more and more Asians moved into Upper Egypt after the unification of the "Two Lands," the mingling of the two peoples not only produced a new breed of Egyptians, but also an increasingly Afro-Asian language and writing system that differed markedly from the original African writing as it was developed below the First Cataract.

Developments in Asia and Europe one and two thousand years after the "golden age" of black civilization helped to obscure that civilization or paint it over as an entirely Euroasian achievement. Our task is to begin the removal of this false encrustation, hardened as it is by two thousand years of unchallenged growth. The time continuum in the history of the blacks is highly important in reference to the state of civilization in the lands from which the invading groups came during the first thousand years of Black ascendancy in Egypt and Southern Ethiopia (the Sudan). The record is quite clear that the incursive groups were largely tent-dwelling nomads. They had no tradition of great cities with imposing temples, obelisks, pyramids or,*indeed, stone masonry at all. In particular, one should note the number of centuries after Thebes and Memphis before their ancient cities were founded:

Nowe (Thebes) Prehistory

Memphis 3100

Rome (Villiage) 1000 B.C.



The Arabs settled in a tiny village called Fostat on the outskirts of the great city of Memphis, the pride of the Black world. From little Fostat now behold the Arab city of Cairo where ancient city of Memphis once stood!

Rome (Town) 250 B.C.
Athens (Village) 1200 B.C.
Athens (City) 360 B.C.
Antioch 400 B.C.
Jerusalem 1400 B.C.
Babylon 2100 B.C.

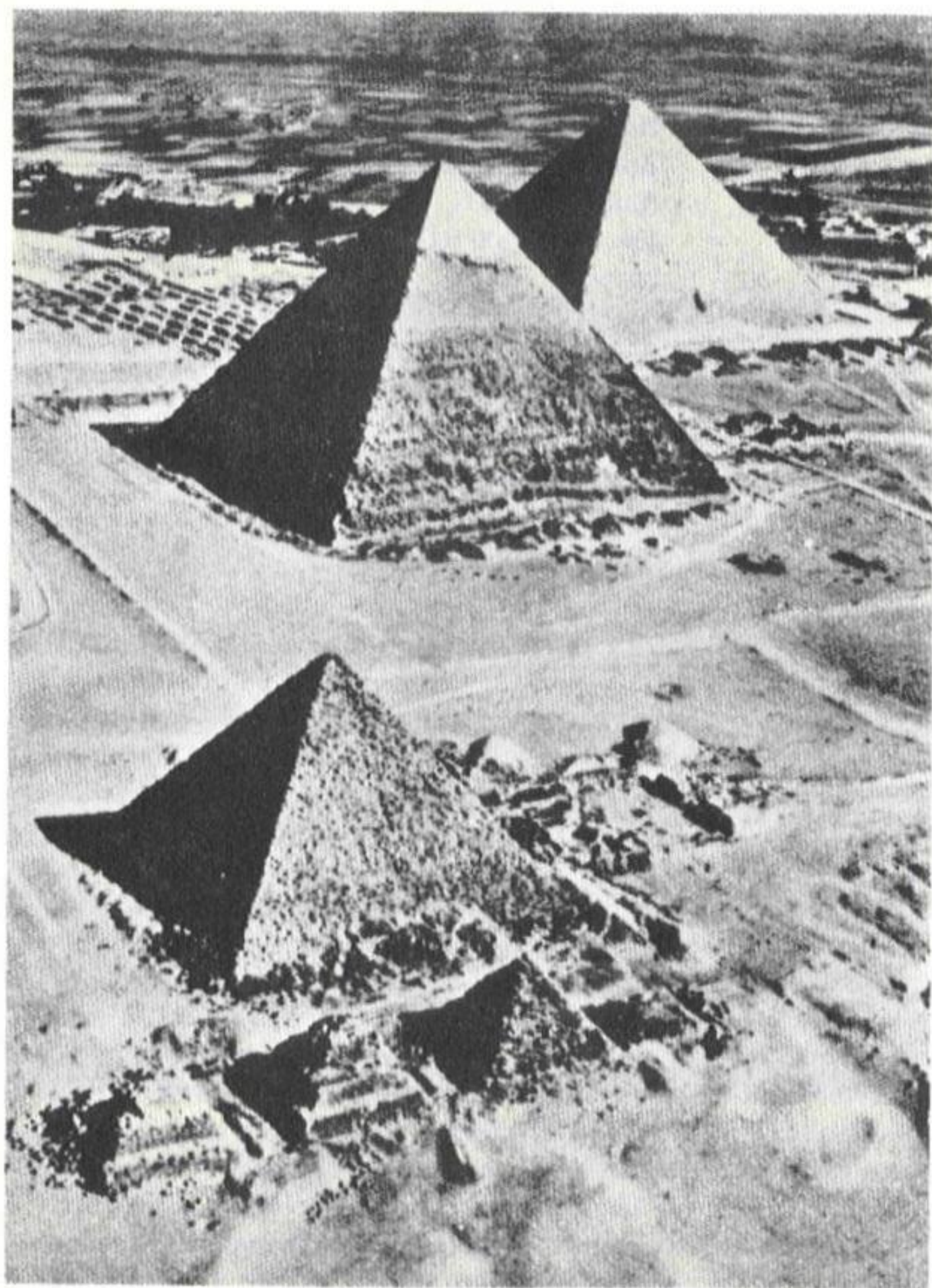
In short, what great contributions did these roaming nomads have to make to an already highly developed black civilization? Since even Jerusalem was not in existence, what people in Lower Egypt came from a country with a city as great as Thebes or Memphis?

* * *

It was the beginning of a new era in the history of the blacks when an Ethiopian King turned the course of the Nile river by building a great dam at the border between Upper and Lower Egypt for the site of the new capital that was to bear his name.

For generations Memphis was almost entirely an all-African city, with white Asian villages slowly growing up around the outskirts. For the Asians are a very smart and very cunning people. Once conquered, they feigned complete and humble acceptance of African rule. Far from showing the slightest signs of any feeling of racial superiority, they were such masters of the art of dissembling that they could hoodwink the Africans, often under the guise of brotherhood, by capitalizing on their often dark complexions, similar institutions, intermarriages, and mixing with the black population generally as far as possible. That all this was the direct route to repeated Asian ascendancy on the continent few Africans seemed to see. For they are, as a race, too ready to forgive and forget past evils committed by foreigners; whereas, on the other hand, a fellow African tribe can easily become a "traditional enemy" and continue as such for so many generations that no one remembers what the original quarrel was all about!

So the blacks were apparently unconcerned about the Asian villages springing up just outside of Memphis, nor about the largest one that was more rapidly developing just across the river on the right bank. This community was to become the Asian city



THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZA

By the Fourth Dynasty the Blacks, who were the first brick and stone masons on earth, had begun to build at Giza the same style of pyramid building that had been characteristic of Southern Ethiopia from the earliest times. The Great Pyramid remained the tallest building in the world for over four thousand years.

of Fostat that challenged the supremacy of the capital city and eventually helped to change its African character and cause its final destruction. Yet what I have just stated so briefly occurred only after nearly three thousand years of glorious history. It remained the Capital and one of the greatest cities of Egypt and the world from the First to the Twentieth Dynasty when it yielded to Thebes again, but it was still a great city when Alexander the Great arrived in 332 B.C. Its death-knell was sounded only when Arab tribes overran the land and Cairo rose to overshadow it.

The Second and Third Dynasties were also African; most writers will not flatly state this. They generally designate these dynasties as "Thinite," "Memphite" or "Followers of Seth." One has to know that the First Dynasty was African and "Memphite" or "Thinite," so called after the name of their sacred city Thinis, and that the cults of Seth and Amon were African. That the Fourth Dynasty was indigenous is equally clear. These were the chief pyramid builders, the Great Pyramid being the largest and highest building on earth until modern times. It was built during the reign of Knufu, 2590-67 B.C.

His nephew, Khafre, carried on, and built the second Great Pyramid. But he went farther. He built the Great Sphinx and, as though he intended to settle the question of his racial identity for all ages to come, he had his African features so boldly and clearly carved into a portrait statue that not even a fool could seriously doubt that this mighty monarch was a "Negro." He was therefore among the first to break with the classical Caucasoid stereotypes in Egyptian portraits.

Having determined what periods Africans were referred to as "Thinities," "Memphites," Thebans, Cushites, Libyans, Ethiopians, Nubians, etc., a major problem in African history was near solution. Some of the disguising masks were thus removed. But much still remained to be done in developing guidelines to identification because the work of effacing the black man's role in world history was so thoroughly done over so many centuries that it is amazing how so universal a consensus was reached by Caucasian writers in almost every age.

Yet it should have occurred to some that, since they themselves knew very well who the black civilization builders were, painstaking research would later reveal all they tried to conceal.



The Great Sphinx, the portrait statue of the Black Pharaoh Khafre (African identity generally disguised by historians with the name "Cephren"). He was the first ruler to break from the classical tradition of portraying all important Blacks with pronounced "Caucasoid" features. Acting as though he foresaw what the trend of history would be, Khafre had his racial identity carved in this solid rock for the ages. Note, however, the long and arduous labor that was required for them to chip away that massive flat nose!

I point out repeatedly also that some of the bias is not deliberate, but often so deeply rooted that the white scholar is totally unaware of it. One of these, for example was Sir Flinders W. M. Petrie, one of the greatest archaeologist-historians of Egypt. He tried so hard to be scientifically "objective." Yet when he unearthed a famous king or queen who was unmistakably "Negro," he seemed to be quite puzzled. But, like most of his fellow investigators, some of his best thinking was set in motion for a "rational" explanation. Thus the find of Sneferu's black queen, Mertitefs, indicated that the "royal wife might be of an inferior race and not of the 'high type.'"

But the guidelines I found useful in identifying "who was who" are, (1) Knowing the terms used when referring to early Africans; (2) noting rulers whom the writers concede to be Africans or "persons with marked 'Negroid' features" and tracing this line to succeeding dynasties i.e., 2nd, 3rd, 4th, etc.! (3) noting what kings or queens in later dynasties claimed an African ruler of an earlier period as their ancestor, and, accordingly, venerated and "worshipped"; (4) similarly, what kings and queens take the name of ancient black rulers and build temples and monuments to perpetuate their memory; (5) the evidence in stone, inscriptions on monuments and stele of various kinds; (6) to what race did the invading rulers "from the South" belong, and over what kind of people did they rule below the First Cataract; (7) and, finally, the unearthed statues and portraits of kings and queens of Egypt who were "pure" Africans—unless physical anthropologists now wish to change their criteria for determining "race." There are a few guidelines to early Egyptians as early black Africans.

The fact of black rulers, however, is not as important as the fact of an indigenous black population from which they sprang. For these early blacks were themselves a great people, excelling on many fronts from a line of builders so distant in the past that it seems to have extended into the stone ages. It was a society of scientists, scholars, organized religions with organized priesthoods, mathematicians, scribes, architects, engineers, standing armies and generals, stone and brick masons, carpenters, artists, sculptors, cloth makers, slaves, farmers, teachers, gold and silver smiths, blacksmiths, and so on, on the widest spectrum of an advanced society.

Africa as the "Cradle of Civilization" meant exactly that. These

blacks developed one of the oldest written languages. The Egyptian language was an African language with later Asiatic influence similar to that of Arabic on the African language known as Swahili. And it was as totally destroyed and replaced by a non-indigenous tongue as were other African creations. Nothing better marked the increasing cleavage between the blacks and their "half-brothers" beyond the cataracts than this linguistic nationalism—the refusal of the retreating blacks to use the Asianized Egyptian tongue.

THE MULATTO PROBLEM

The recent revival of "Black is beautiful" is no more than that—a revival. The great majority of ancient Blacks took great pride in their color; and their resistance to amalgamation may be so interpreted. For one thing they had observed in Egypt was that a dynasty, beginning as all-black, could remain unbroken over generations and still in the end become near-white in color with not a Black face in the royal lineage.

This two-way process of intermingling and direct aggression meant victory for the white Asians in the end. They were already within the country as "Egyptians" when the conquering hordes from their various homelands swept in. Many were nationalistic Egyptians and as such fought the invaders along with the Africans; others, though born in Egypt also, were loyal to their fathers' native countries and sided with their armies.

Since the first to be called Egyptians exclusively were half-African and half-Asian, their general hostility to their mother's race was a social phenomenon that should not be passed over lightly, even though that development followed a universal pattern and, therefore, was not peculiar to the Egyptians. Its nature is essentially opportunist, a quest for security, recognition and advancement by identifying with and becoming a part of the new power elite of the conquerors. The invading conquerors not only capture and control all political and economic power by military might, but, even though they might be nomadic barbarians, they generally claim to be from a higher civilization and, therefore, reinforce the myth of being superior in fact, and not just because of military conquests.

Even if no such claim is made, the new ruling classes and

all members of their race are superior *vis-a-vis* the indigenous or conquered people. Expediency and survival itself dictated loyalty and faithful service to the Asian masters in the regions over which they had gained control, first in northern Egypt. This meant that even in the beginning, "siding with the Asians" was not solely determined by whether one was a half-breed or a full-blooded African. Blacks who did not choose to flee south but remained under Asian rule, even if enslaved, worked harder to gain recognition and acceptance than any other group. Indeed, so anxious were some of these early Blacks for "integration" with the Asians that they themselves did most in creating the new breed of Egyptians who were to become their mortal enemies. For in an all-out effort to appease the invaders, they freely gave their daughters and other desirable females as gifts to become concubines, thus speeding up the reproduction processes on an ever-widening scale. Nor did this lessen the wholesale capture of women in raids on African villages for the same purpose and for export to Asia.

Reference was made to the "Egyptians' race" of their mothers. For in Egypt, as elsewhere, it was a one-way sexual process. The "master race" always kept its own women "sacred" and secluded behind the walls of their homes. They were not allowed to go outside except under guard. African women had no such restrictions or protection. They were fair game for the men of all races, and for them it was always open season. Many Black women preferred death by suicide. Of these, too, history does not sing. The "master race," then, while loudly proclaiming a strange doctrine of "racial purity" for itself, has been the world's leader in bastardizing other peoples. So it has been on a grand scale in the United States, in South America, in East and South Africa—and so it was in Egypt.

The evolution of the Egyptians as a nationality group is as interesting as their anti-African attitude, although the latter differs not at all from that of many mixed breeds with African blood elsewhere. It has been stated that the original Egyptians were black, half-African and half-Asian. This general racial pattern changed, however, as the centuries passed along and more and more white conquerors, their followers and the other whites were attracted to the "Bread Basket on the Nile"—Canaanites, Jews, Syrians, Hittites, Persians, Babylonians, Assyrians, Greeks, Turks, Arabs, Romans, *et al.* Intermarriages between conquerors and conquered continued

along with concubinage as a national institution. The direct result was that more and more Egyptians became lighter and near-white in complexion. In short, they did in fact, become more Asian in blood than African. Yet this upper ruling class of near-whites was at no time more than a fourth of the population; for until the Islamic "flood" which began in the middle of the seventh century A.D., the vast majority of the Egyptians were what modern scholars like to characterize as "Negroid."⁴

But what has been referred to as a "social phenomenon" was in fact a development among the half-breeds everywhere that ran counter to what would be normally expected, if not contrary to nature itself. This was the outright rejection of one's mother and her people and a cleaving to the father and his people. While I do not know whether the overwhelming love which Africans generally have for their mothers is any greater than that among other peoples, it is certainly so marked that it has been a matter of comment by many writers. Some of the principal reasons why the half-breeds turned against the Blacks and sought integration with the Asians have been pointed out. These applied to the blacks as well as to the new breed. All sought security, advancement and social prestige by ingratiating themselves with the current ruling classes. But the halfbreeds had the inside track and all of the advantages.

First of all, they were mainly the sons and daughters of white and European-Asian fathers. These fathers recognized them as such and, in general, proudly. And since they claimed superiority over the Africans, their half-African offsprings considered themselves to be a superior breed also. These Afro-Asian offsprings were given preferential treatment, positions of authority, wealth according to the status of their patrilineal family, and an education that could draw on Asian culture as well as the highly advanced African civilization in Upper Egypt and southwards to the "Land of the Gods."

Another situation that was a most potent factor in the half-breeds' attitude towards their mothers' race was that, more often than not, their mothers were concubinary slaves.

4. The unmixed Blacks in Egypt I am still designating as African. The Mulattoes, then as now, generally objected to being called Africans.

This meant that the half-breed was introduced into the lowest level of African life even from birth. Concubinage was so general that it overshadowed the smaller number of African women who were the legitimate wives of Asians. These African wives were the exception, generally coming as they did from powerful upper classes, the noble or royal families. In such cases it did not seem to matter at all how black they were. But since most of the "new Egyptians" were originally sons and daughters of slave mothers and "upper class" fathers, they tended to be ashamed of their mothers and sought self-realization on their fathers' side. Furthermore, the slave mother had no claim on the children she bore. They belonged to the Asian father who could and generally did consider them as free-born due to their Asian blood.

To prove how truly Asian they were, the mixed Egyptians made hatred of Africans a ritual, and tried to surpass the whites in raiding for slaves in all-African areas. Various Afro-Eurasians who became Egyptian kings declared "eternal warfare" against the Blacks and vowed to enslave the entire race. Hope in this connection could have developed from the fact that while many races were represented among captured slaves, the Africans constituted the largest number.

Relying wholly on the emerging concept of innate superiority of Europeans and Asians, these people everywhere created a class system that made their bastard offsprings superior to all Blacks, and in status next below themselves.

The system operated in the twentieth century the same as it did in earlier times. The Afro-Dutch "Coloureds" of South Africa fully illustrate most of the points made about Egyptians. The "Coloureds'" hatred of Africans seem to be even more thoroughgoing than that of the whites in South Africa. Because of their Dutch blood, they too had been given special privileges, a higher social and economic status than the Blacks, and a completely separate society. Education and civil rights denied the Blacks were theirs; the best available jobs for non-whites were theirs. But above all, they had the magic of the half-white skin that in itself automatically put them above the Blacks. Some of these "Coloureds" become hysterical if reminded of their Bantu or "Kaffir" blood. The lightest ones simply deny having any African blood.

Yet sometimes nature itself, as though disgusted with these

ridiculous pretensions, plays a joke on some of the very lightest husbands and wives by presenting them with a black baby, a throw-back from black ancestors.

The most charitable thing that can be said about the racism of the Dutch Boers and their Cape Coloured offsprings is that they were ignorant of even the names of great African leaders, not to mention the great civilization they had built just north of where the Dutch first landed.

But the Assyrians, Hebrews, Greeks and Romans could make no such claim to support the myth of Caucasian superiority. For nothing seems clearer from ancient records than that the whole ancient world knew of nothing more ancient than the Black man's civilization.

The real challenge was standing there in monuments of stone which the Blacks had built on a scale that had withstood all passing ages.

To meet this challenge the Asians and their Afro-Asian offsprings set about to do three main things: (1) To destroy everything left by the Africans that indicated African superiority; (2) but where the temples, monuments, etc., were of such beauty and durability that destruction was less desirable than claiming the achievements as their own—in these cases African inscriptions were systematically erased and replaced with Asian and new Egyptian inscriptions that gave to themselves the credit for whatever achievements there were. Sometimes the inscriptions were so deeply engraved that effacement was impossible; so the workmen would have to conceal these by building stone casings around them.

The early African builders had been most exasperating. Leaving their statues everywhere—flat noses, thick lips and all. Hundreds of Statuettes were carved in various dynasties. These could be thrown away. But what to do with the huge, monumental statues that were lined up outside of the most famous temples? The problem was solved by "passing" those Egyptian rulers who merely had "Negroid" features. Many of those with all-African faces simply had their heads knocked off. All to no lasting avail. The facts of history could not be completely changed.

One troublesome fact was that most of the greatest kings and queens of Egypt were Black Africans—so great, indeed, that their names were gladly spread over pages that glorify the Egyptian past—

their *names*, but not their African identity. In history these Blacks are simply Egyptians, and not Cushites, Ethiopians, or Nubians. This is still another technique for deliberately "losing track" of African history. But the archaeologists' spades just kept turning up statuettes and some remarkable portraits that frustrate some scholars while others feel challenged and reply with a heavy artillery of misleading words and phrases. Regardless of what the field investigators find, the main work of reconstructing African history in the twentieth century is still in the hands of those who degraded it—white hands who still have the power to shape it as they will; (3) Finally, the great revolt of white slaves (Mamelukes) in 1250 A.D., and their murderous onslaughts against their Turk and Arab masters ended forever the general enslavement of whites, and thereafter led to a concentration on the enslavement of Blacks only. This changed the course of history and came to make the myth of racial superiority-inferiority appear to be a visible reality: Master and slave—could there be any question about it? Even the slaves could realize that their actual situation was one of inferiority. And after centuries of bondage, the slaves generally came to believe that they were in fact inferior beings, and that their masters, by the very arrangements of life, were superior. For whether in Asia, Europe, South America, the United States or the West Indies, the story was the same: The essential links with their past were broken. All knowledge of former greatness was lost. Even their kinship and family relationships were destroyed along with their true names. They were not regarded as human beings. They became a race of outcasts hating themselves for being. The Caucasian triumph was complete.

In the course of time the Egyptians became more and more conscious of their separate national and non-Asian identity as Egyptians. The term "Asian," of course, covered numerous white nationality and ethnic groups. "Asian blood" had no specific meaning. It might be Hebrew, Mongolian, Arabic, Persian, Indian and so on. Egyptian nationalism with its sense of independence could evolve all the more easily because of this lack of exclusive identity with any one of their kindred nationalities.

Another important factor was the relatively unmixed Asians (and a sprinkling of Europeans) who had been living in the country for so many generations that they regarded themselves as

Egyptians, owing no loyalty to their native lands, and ready to fight as Egyptians when Egypt was attacked or herself went to war. Here again we see additional reasons why the Egyptians felt more Asian than African. They become even clearer if we keep in mind that during all the centuries of Egyptian evolution to a separate identity and nationhood, relentless warfare with the Africans continued. As long as the Africans seemed resolved to retake Egypt, no pharaoh could rest easily. From the record, extending over several thousand years, it seems that the blacks intended to reconquer Egypt as Menes had done or fight on forever. They seemed to take their most devastating defeats as mere temporary set-backs, and always invaded or attempted to invade Egypt again and again (and again, note the very different Western version).

Is this one of the principal reasons the Egyptians hated them so much? Was the mass enslavement of Africans a part of a scheme to break the power and end the eternal threat from the now southern "Land of the Blacks?"

I am, of course, fully aware that the same ancient records may be read and interpreted in such a way that one would think that most of the invasions were one-way from Egypt into the all-black countries below the First Cataract, and that, indeed, the Africans were no match for the mighty Egyptian armies, but generally turned tail and fled. In this and a hundred other instances I simply read the record differently. The great chain of defense fortifications the Egyptians built facing south at the First Cataract were hardly built to prevent themselves from invading the black empire.

As late as the twelfth dynasty records still refer to wars against the "Asian invaders" and to defense measures, such as building walls on the eastern frontier. They had been "expelled *en masse*" from the rich delta region in 2040 B.C.⁵ But they always returned, if not as conquering warriors, then as peaceful traders or friendly migrants seeking a home.

It should also be remembered that Egypt was not always the innocent object of aggression, but was herself often the invading aggressor in Asia. She also enslaved many Asians and marched them back to Egypt—men, women and children. It can be said

5. This is the generally accepted view. I note elsewhere that it was not a mass expulsion of Asians.

with certainty, therefore, that some of the many invasions of Egypt were invited or provoked by Egypt's own imperialistic adventures. Yet they may well have been counter-moves to check the constant invasions from these regions.

The African masses caught it from all directions as their own leaders progressively became "Caucasian" Hamites and Semites, and as many who were unmistakably full blooded Africans became as predatory as were their known enemies.⁶ It appears that from times immemorial stark greed, the desire for wealth, has overridden all humane considerations. Greed has served as a kind of anesthesia, deadening humane sentiments and breaking the bonds of affection that relates man to man. Greed was triumphant in Egypt from ancient times down into our own century. It was the major slave exchange center in Africa. Nubia (the Northern Sudan) was not only the chief source of supply for slaves, who were marched up to the Second Cataract, but it was also the main source of gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, precious stones of many kinds, ebony and animal skins. These enriched Egypt in her expanding international trade. A hostile Egypt now stood between the Black world and international commerce.

But all had not been going well in the land. There had been civil wars, division of the country again, reunification again, decentralization, a breakup into autonomous nomarchies and back to unification once more. These ups and downs seem to be according to the strength or weakness of the leadership in any given period, or the role played by the conquerors in unifying or failing to unify the country.

"BLACK EGYPT TURNING BROWN AND WHITE"

The long, long stretch of the centuries into milleniums made it easy to delete some of the most significant developments in those early ages in Egypt. The emergence of great leaders and long periods of remarkable achievements were followed by weak leaders and long periods of national disorganization and chaos in such amazing

6. One lesson of history is quite clear: One's own leaders may be as unjust, inhuman and as brutal as strangers, often more so.

cycles that it seems that some relentless socio-political law was operating in the land. Centralized government, first instituted by Menes, always collapsed as civil war spread over the provinces and constituent kingdoms. One of the worst and most fateful periods of crisis was during the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth dynasties, 2181-2040 B.C.

What happened during this period of political anarchy is typical of the unproclaimed processes that slowly but steadily changed both the political and ethnic character of Egypt and, in the end, that of the all-black Sudan as well. During this period, as in many others, the Blacks played a leading role in expediting their own downfall—a fact as important in their history as anything else. In Egypt it was an almost endless power struggle both within the royal lineages on the national and provincial levels and between the various provinces. The civil strife became more intense and bitter as the largest and strongest provinces, such as Thebes, tried to force the others back into a state of national unity. The trouble was that too many Nomarchs (Chiefs) were trying to do the same thing, each being ambitious to become the Pharaoh of all Egypt at the very least, and all Ethiopia if possible (Egypt and the Sudan).

Hell in the center of the empire (Upper Egypt) for 141 years. One hundred forty-one years of retrogression and destruction. Both ends of the empire broke away from the center. The northern end, white Lower Egypt, became independent again and more and more whites spread over Upper Egypt, taking full advantage of the general upheaval, and promoting it by forming alliances with various provincial chiefs in the warfare against others. Since Lower Egypt also had internal strife among its now independent provinces, delta chiefs did not hesitate in accepting the invitations of Black princes to form alliances and lead troops into Upper Egypt. Asians also marched across the desert from Libya where they had also replaced the indigenous Blacks and were now the dominant population.

The steady transformation from black to brown to white becomes even clearer if it is remembered that after the unification of the Two Lands, the whites of Lower Egypt had every legal right to travel and settle in black Upper Egypt. And while there was always a general opposition, there had been a steady infiltration from the beginning. They, like their Libyan kinsmen, always came

in a manner that never caused immediate alarm: small numbers spreading out, and then gradually forming separate communities next to an African village, town or city. They became an integral part of life in the provinces, became the active supporters of the local chiefs (Nomarchs), married into their families and, by so doing, in time became legitimate chiefs themselves. The Asian power base was thus firmly established in provinces, and established so slowly without fanfare that it appeared to be an imperceptible development. The same changes had been taking place on the national level in some of the royal families.

But the biggest changes in the racial character of Egypt always occurred during the crisis periods of political decentralization and civil disorder when the whites came in hordes and spread over the country. The already established Asian communities served as magnets, but the overflow of settlers caused the building of numerous new communities. They could now move in unchallenged. They came in not only from the Delta and Libya, but from Asia also. These were not military invasions, but invading settlers. They were, like John the Baptist, the forerunners. They prepared the way and made it easy for all the invading armies that came later from Asia and Europe. These could now count on cooperation and welcome from the white population already in Egypt.

A century and a half of this. A pause and reflection are required here if the full significance of what has been set forth above is to be grasped. Yet the picture need not be as confusing as many writers have made it by the simple expedient of omitting salient facts. Among these are the following: (1) The collapse of centralized authority from Memphis not only enabled Lower Egypt to become independent again, but it also meant that this predominantly Asian region was in the same state of disruption as the rest of the country. (2) Kings in Lower Egypt, ruling from Avaris or Sais, often claimed to be kings or pharaohs of all Egypt without having gained control of the whole country, just as kings in Upper Egypt, ruling from Thebes or Memphis, made similar claims during the same period without having gained control over the whole country or even all of Upper Egypt. This point is highly important; for what it means is that there were periods when both white and black aspirants claimed to be pharaohs of Egypt at the same time when none actually had effective control over the nation. (3) Writers,

knowing this well enough, have nevertheless generally presented the whites and Afro-Asians (classified as "white") as *the* Egyptian pharaohs, while ignoring the African pharaohs altogether. Their defense, when pressed, is that the African pharaohs are indicated as Thebans, Memphites etc.—satisfied, as previously pointed out, that the use of these terms is a part of the "blackout" of black history. (4) The periods during which the Asian incursions were greatest, such as 2181-2040 B.C., should be stressed because these population pressures caused a steady withdrawal of non-integrating blacks southward below the First Cataract. (5) To overlook this early separatist movement among the blacks is to neglect one of the most important keys to the fuller understanding of black Egyptian history.

But just as the Blacks had withdrawn in large numbers from Lower Egypt as it became more and more white and began to settle beyond what became the border between Lower and Upper Egypt, so now they had been moving from place to place in Upper Egypt in a futile effort to escape from the ever pressing whites. These were the Blacks who finally joined others in the South (Nubia).

Nubia, therefore, revolted and became independent during the same period of general collapse at the center. But the compelling reasons, as stated elsewhere, appear to have been resistance not only to the increasing Asian power in Upper Egypt but also to the African and Afro-Asian pharaohs whose integration policies promoted the spread of this foreign power in what had been an important region of their homeland. It was black separatism and racialism without apology. It was even something more than a resistance movement against the political domination of foreigners and the social degradation of the blacks that always followed, but it was a stubborn resistance to the extinction of the race itself through amalgamation. These were the first of the race for whom black was in fact beautiful, and not just a catching slogan of the day.

The expansion of "white power" from the Delta into Upper Egypt had been going on slowly long before the "age of weak kings." They had been appointed as ministers, court officials of various kinds, trade commissioners, army officers and soldiers. The ninety year reign of Pepi II, the longest in history, was in their favor. For while Pepi had been a strong leader and a mighty king during the first fifty years of his reign, the general upheaval began

when he had become too old to govern or even know what was going on in the country. This unheard of long reign made the Sixth Dynasty the introduction to the era of chaos. This was the period of simultaneous dynasties of Asian, Libyans, and Theban "pharaohs" and several different capitals. There were so many kings during the Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Dynasties with very short "reigns" that many of their names are unknown.

Finally the line of African kings ruling from Thebes first overcame the other powerful Asian dynasty in Upper Egypt that was centered at Heracleopolis and proceeded with the awful task of uniting the empire again. Strong rulers had begun to emerge again in 2133. So the Eleventh Dynasty of the great Mentuhoteps began 93 years before the Tenth Dynasty ended—a further illustration of points previously made.

Mentuhotep II was probably the greatest of Eleventh Dynasty kings. It was he who undertook to settle the white Asian problem forever by reversing the policy of integration and expelling them from Lower Egypt. Historians of the period write that he did "expel the Asians" from the Delta in 2040 B.C. This, too, is misleading. For while he did indeed reconquer Lower Egypt again, and probably believed that reunification with the black South would be easier if he first drove the Asians out, he was now 1000 years too late for such a task. The Asians could not be expelled *en masse* in any event, for all Lower Egypt was overwhelmingly an Asian population and had been so for centuries beyond record. Nobody knows at what point in time they became the dominant people there. What Mentuhotep did was to put the government to flight, along with its army and other known supporters. Besides, the Asians were now dispersed all through the provinces of Upper Egypt.

The compelling reason for the reconquest of the Delta was always economic. In fact "race" itself was an economic factor. When Asians controlled, it was a commercial blockade of the Blacks from direct world trade and international relations in general. Therefore, the second reunification in 2040 ushered in another "golden age" in Black history. African ships of commerce sailed the seas again, nation-wide reconstruction was pushed and the revival of learning, science, the arts and crafts marked the Eleventh and Twelfth dynasties. The most important lesson the Black world can learn from its

history is that there was an economic development base for each and every advance.

Meanwhile the Blacks concentrated in the South had firmly fixed the dividing line between themselves and their brothers in Upper Egypt at the First Cataract. This, too, meant war, because the South was the richest region in mineral resources. The long war against Nubia began during the Eleventh dynasty and went on year after year without success. A very real problem now was the attitude of the Black troops from Thebes toward a war against their brothers in the South. In any event no progress in overcoming the South was made at all until the power center at Thebes was moved to Al Fayyum in the Twelfth dynasty. Even then the war dragged on for another fifty years before the region bordering on Egypt (called Lower Nubia) was brought under control.

Henceforth, the country from the First Cataract to the Mediterranean was definitely called Egypt and the country from the First Cataract southward was definitely called Ethiopia, Nubia, Cush etc.

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The end of the Twelfth dynasty in 1786 ended nearly three and one half centuries of great leaders and, therefore, great progress. Yet, once again, the cycle of disaster returned with the Thirteenth dynasty. Mental pygmies sat on the thrones once occupied by giants. Nearly two centuries of internal strife and decay followed. Lower Egypt, of course, had quickly become independent again for the third time. This meant an increased and unrestricted flow of Asians into the country. A period of turmoil was also the opportune time for great armed invasions.

Among these invaders were the Hyksos, the "Children of Israel," according to the historian Josephus. This invasion of Egypt in 1720 B.C. was ruthless and aimed at nothing less than the extermination of the Egyptian people and their replacement by the Israelites. They did not succeed in this, but settled down to rule the country as the Thirteenth and Sixteenth dynasties and stayed as a powerful influence for over 400 years.⁷ The important point here is that Semites poured into Egypt following its conquest by fellow-tribesmen, and that this still further advanced the Asiatic character of

7. Some writers say that they were Arabs and that their rule lasted about 250 years.

the Egyptians. Hyksos power was broken during the 18th dynasty and many were expelled *en masse*. They returned to Palestine and founded Jerusalem. Meanwhile, Egypt was developing into "The New Empire" and, during the same dynasty in which the Hyksos had been expelled, she struck back by conquering the Hyksos homeland and Syria and extended conquests to the Euphrates. It should be noted that the greatest Hebrew invasion of Egypt occurred about 600 years before Moses and the Captivity.



One reason why the great issues in African history must be both reviewed and expanded is that anyone who dares to challenge the prevailing and widely held viewpoints is in a position far more precarious than that of little David facing the towering and mightily armed Goliath. Here an almost universal army of giants, standing steadfastly in defense of the "Africanist" ideologies they have developed, must be combatted. To this end I review positions already stated in order to be crystal clear, and I expand by introducing additional facts on the same subject. Indeed, I might be properly accused of overemphasizing one point on which most scholars are already agreed: the great antiquity of African civilization. But the greatest of all issues is right here in the general agreement that at the very earliest period known to mankind, an African civilization in the areas later called the Sudan and Egypt was fully developed, with 'all the arts of civilized life already matured,' its beginning being placed so far into the early history of the world that it is beyond the reach of man . . . Since the most compelling evidence forced scholars to these conclusions in recent times, the prevailing racist theories of history created a very real dilemma: How, in view of civilization's beginning in the Land of the Blacks, to explain their role in *world history*? Having successfully degraded the black race throughout the world and supported that degradation with their "science" and religion, how now explain that this same black race was the first builders of the very civilization of which the Caucasians themselves are heirs?

White scholarship solves such problems very neatly—and without a blink of an eye. In this case they very simply put the white

man in Africa *before* the black man! And, apparently not feeling secure enough with this, they overrode geography itself and "took Egypt out of Africa," making it a part of the Asian Middle East! Laughter and tragedy. For, of course, a racism so extreme that it becomes ridiculous also becomes amusing, even though it is at the same time the tragedy of an unabated twentieth century assault on the Blacks.

The discovery that the earliest civilization and, therefore, the most advanced nation were in Africa led white scholars to do a quick turnabout, going far beyond transforming the indigenous people into whites: They now made Africa the birthplace of the entire human race and, to please God, rushed back to Noah's sons again for a theory of racial origins and dispersions—but now from Africa—over the earth. Western scholars in the absence of solid facts, do not hesitate to use myths and legends if these serve their purposes. So, in addition to the legend of how the different races came to be and migrated, we also have quoted the Egyptian legend of how the god, Tum, assigned colors to the various groups.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson in his three volumes on ancient Egypt follows the same well-known line about Egyptians as Caucasians. In this he is quite in step with most Western and Asian writers on the subject. Indeed, in addition to the "evidence" cited above, he relies also on Caucasian features in certain Egyptian monuments, portraits etc. The head carvings, pictures and other representations of people are quite true, depending on the period in which the work was done. Was it done during the long era of classical representations when all portraits were of a standardized form? The subject was idealized in an artistic attempt to make him look quite different than he actually was. In fact a true representation of the individual was considered vulgar. The complementary question is, were the wall paintings and similar depictions done during the periods of Caucasian ascendancy (Asian and Afro-Asian)? For during these periods both African and Afro-Asian ruling and upper classes were classed as Asians or Caucasians and a sharp distinction was made between themselves and the non-integrating Blacks. The stylized paintings also show the Blacks in the same unvarying patterns. The first known revolt against this ancient system of classical

art came during Ikhnaton's religious reforms in the fifteenth century B.C.⁸

Anyone examining these early paintings will readily see why African history is so confused and so often misleading. One example is a wall painting in a tomb at Thebes—the oldest city of the Blacks. The picture shows "negroes presenting tribute. . . ." to the chief minister of Thutmose III. If one did not know that all the Thutmoses were of an African lineage, he would naturally conclude that Egyptian civilization was in fact a Caucasian civilization, and the Blacks, where they appear on the scene at all, were in a distinctly inferior role. Were not the paintings conclusive evidence of this? Look at their scanty, almost barbarous attire!

"THE CITY OF A HUNDRED GATES"

References have been made to Thebes, and it may have seemed to be almost passing references. Yet Thebes was the most important single city in the entire history of the Black people. The whole series of lectures could be properly based on Thebes. The history of black Africa might well begin at Thebes. For this was truly the "Eternal City of the Blacks" that presented the most compelling evidence that they were the builders of the earliest civilization in Chem, later called Egypt, as well as the great civilization in the South. The foundation of Thebes, like the black state of which it was the center, goes so far back in prehistory that not even a general stone age period can be suggested.

This city is another example of what was meant when I suggested earlier that research workers should not shun the "enemy" authorities because they themselves inevitably present factual data that contravene positions previously taken. I am not speaking about those scholars who present the various conflicting theories and viewpoints of the different schools of thought. It should be needless to say that this is desirable, or that reference is not made to such writers. But reference was made to those historians who espoused such doctrines as that of an indigenous white African society before

8. Khafre actually broke the tradition in the 4th dynasty. But the "Negroid" features in the Sphinx did not change the classical style.

the arrival of the blacks in Africa and then, later on, themselves unwittingly showing that such could not have been the case.

So, almost all are forced by the evidence to concede in one place or another, and often in very guarded or ambiguous language, that: (1) the blacks were also called Thebans because (2) all Upper Egypt was for centuries called the Thebald after its greatest city, Thebes, and its people—the black Thebans; (3) that the “Thebald” also referred to the city itself as the intellectual center of black Africa—the chief seat of learning, of science, religion, engineering and the arts. “Thebald,” therefore, could mean the whole of Black Egypt or the “University City,” depending on the inflection of the voice; (4) that the Asian whites were held rather firmly in the Delta region they occupied in Lower Egypt until the unification of the Two Land under Menes; (5) and that the much heralded “Egyptian dynasties” were African-founded and were nothing more nor less than the African traditional lineage system, matrilineal in character except when it was made patrilineal after Asian conquests or the great Egyptian transformation.

I have said that the confusion in African history did not develop accidentally or because of a long series of unfortunate circumstances. The confusion seems to have been deliberately contrived. All specialists on ancient Egypt whose works we have examined were quite familiar with all the facts presented here. I present nothing here that would be new to them, for so much of it is *their own findings*.

Consider how much confusion and misinterpretations would have been avoided if they had stated the well-established fact that the Ethiopian empire still included most of Egypt even after the Asian occupation of the Delta, that it extended southward over northern Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia), and that states such as Wawat, Nubia, Cush, etc. were, like Egypt, lesser divisions of that vast empire. Even in the works where this is presented in various and sundry ways, you will not find a single map showing the extent of the Ethiopian empire.

To present maps of Ancient Ethiopia, of course, would have defeated all major efforts to destroy or disguise the most significant aspects of African history. All honors must go to the ancient Greek and Roman historians who did not seem to know what racism is—certainly not as it developed in modern white civilization. They, in

dealing with Africa, simply 'told it like it was'—Pliny, Herodotus, Diodorus, Erastosthenes, Plutarch, *et al.*, along with the Bible—all refute the interpretations of African history by modern Caucasians. They eagerly quote the ancient historians as first line authorities, but attack them whenever and wherever their records upset the premises upon which modern racism is built. In such cases the Western scholar feels so absolute and infallible in his wealth-centered power and control over science and education that on those points he does not choose to accept, he will dismiss the "Father of History" with 'Here Herodotus must be read with caution. He is known to have made errors. He did not travel very much in Africa. . . .' or ". . . It is very likely that Diodorus was relying on oral tradition here . . . "or" . . . They may have confused the Greek "Ethiopia" which means 'The Black Land' with "Chem" (Egypt) which also means 'The Black Land,' for Pliny suggests that in the case of Egypt 'black' refers to the soil rather than the people. . . ." And so it goes.

Throughout the study of the Black man's history we may find ourselves constantly misled or puzzled if we forget that practically all the names and terms in use are not African names and terms, but Greek, Roman, Arabic, Anglo-Saxon, etc. Some of the more recent pre-European and pre-Asian-African names, however, have been rediscovered. One of these earlier names for Thebes was the No, the Na-Amun of the Bible and ancient Hebrew writers. But the African name was Wo'se and, like the Greek Thebald, referred to all Upper Ethiopia or Upper Egypt. The Blacks also made the distinction between Wo'se, the Thebald and Nowe (Thebes), the University City. Another point of the highest importance here is that the African name for Thebes not only comes from the South, as Nims points out, but the name itself is the name of the imperial scepter of Ethiopia—a golden staff ribboned with ostrich feathers at the top. Here now is a single name that, all by itself alone, gives far-reaching insights into the history of the Blacks. And this is why I have urged that high up on the list of research fields yet to be explored, there should be one devoted to the rediscovery of African names and their meaning. For, obviously, much of the African past was rather effectively blotted out by blotting out African names along with other indexes to Black achievements.

The determination of ancient African names and their meaning

will spearhead a real Black Revolution because it will lead directly to the emancipation of our still enslaved minds. It will be the great intellectual reawakening of a people whose world outlook through Caucasian eyes has been dimmed. I cannot now, for example, switch to the use of the African names I know in this discussion. I must continue to say Thebes, not Wo'se or Nowe. The reasons are obvious. But if the kind of suggested research is done, the next generation of Black writers will be using African terms freely and understandably, and with maps redrawn showing places with their own original names.

But let us never forget the central fact about Thebes—not even for a moment. For if the Blacks had never left a single written record of their past greatness, that record would still stand, defying time, in the deathless stones of Thebes, of her fallen columns from temples, monuments, and her pyramids—a city more eternal than Rome because its foundation was laid before the dawn of history, and its plan was that copied by other cities of the world. If the Blacks of today want to measure the distance to the heights from which they have fallen, they need go no farther than Nowe (Thebes).

THEBES AND THE ROLE OF RELIGION

The "Mother of Cities," as it was called, was one of the chief centers of religion in Africa. The Blacks were a very religious people and had quite a number of religious cities, each one under the special patronage of a god, goddess or any number of deities. The gods and goddesses of Thebes were among the most important because their city was so important. Because religion to the Africans was far more than ritual reflecting beliefs, but a reality reflected in their actual way of life, religion from the earliest times became the dynamic force in the development of all the major aspects of Black civilization.

The belief in immortality was a simple matter of course, and beyond the realm of debate.

This belief in life after death was the great inspiration for building on so grand a scale, trying to erect structures that would stand forever. Necessity, therefore, gave birth to the mathematical sciences

required for building the amazing pyramids and the architectural designs for the most elaborate system of temple building the world had ever known. As the City of Amon, the King of the Gods, and of his wife, the great goddess, Mut, the temples and monuments to them alone had to be on a massive scale. There was also the war god of Thebes, the source of the power of the mightiest armies, the proudest and most fearless warriors. From this center of empire alone 20,000 war chariots could be put into the field. The hierarchy of deities not only included numerous lesser gods and goddesses but also a long line of venerated former kings, queens and ancestors. All of this not only inspired endless temple building at Thebes but also a concentration on attaining the highest standards of excellence. This in turn called for reflective thinking, invention and discovery. Many of the temples were what we would call colleges, as the different fields of study were temple-centered. Here scholars from foreign lands came to study, and from here religious ideas and architectural designs spread abroad. The early Greeks and Romans eagerly copied from both, reshaped them and made them integral parts of an "original" Western culture. During periods of decline or conquests, Europe and Asia seized and transported from Africa as much of the artifacts of its civilization as they could. Cambyses, for example, as early as the Sixth Century B.C., hauled away over \$100,000,000 of precious historical materials from Thebes alone. Cambyses was only one of countless thousands who invaded the tomb repositories of Black history during each of the many periods of foreign invasions and foreign rule. For these tombs not only contained valuable historical records in different forms, but also great treasures in gold and precious stones. In these cases the historical records were generally destroyed incidentally, and not deliberately. The raid on graves and the great tombs were for the great treasures to be found there. But the stolen gold and other treasures were of no importance when compared with the mass of priceless historical materials that are scattered over Europe and Asia, some in museums, some destroyed or thrown away—all from the heartland of Black civilization. Today the descendants of the robbers still smugly declare, "The Blacks never had any worthwhile history; if so, where are their records?"

The still interesting fact about Thebes is that many of its formerly great temples were prehistoric ruins even five thousand

years ago. The most ancient temple at Karnak, for example, in what was the center of Nowe, goes back beyond the reach of man's records. No other city on earth ever had so many temples, and even today there are more ruins of temples there than anywhere in the world. Because of the splendor of their architectural designs and the colossal size of the structures they, like the pyramids, became wonders of the world. Religion was not only the immediate occasion for the development of art and architecture but it also inspired the drive for bigness, the grand design on a scale as huge as human skill and effort could achieve. Nothing less was befitting the gods.

The keepers of the temples of Thebes and elsewhere became a powerful priesthood, thus indirectly reducing the power and influence of chiefs and kings who, in traditional Africa, derived their real powers as the official intermediaries between the gods, sainted ancestors and the people. If an African king or chief had any real political power, it was acquired either by virtue of his religious functions or because of the prestige of being a great general and victorious warrior. Otherwise the Council was the constitutional center of power.

Moreover, religion became the basis of political power in a subtle and much more far-reaching sense. For back behind the impenetrable curtains of time, shrewd leaders saw the overriding mystery of religion as a controlling force in the lives of men. It appears that in almost all societies religion was recognized not only as the principal means of social control, but the equally certain source of economic wealth and political authority. From the chieftain's role of offering prayers and sacrifices to the gods the steps to his own claim of kinship with the deities were easy enough. For who can gainsay one who is in exclusive communication with the Almighty? Although divine kinship was never widespread over the continent, it seems to be true that the ideas and practices of the divine despots of the Orient did penetrate and influence a number of African kingdoms.

The point of all this is that religion made the people submissive, obedient—and all the more so if their ruler had a superhuman role and even kinship with the gods and the protecting ancestors. For did this not mean then that rulers held all the keys to Heaven?

Indeed, the chiefs and kings had evolved into the very instruments of the peoples' salvation.

The state's income from religion stemmed from the requirement of sacrificial offerings from the people. This might be from ten to fifty percent of what each individual produced or earned. But where the traditional constitutional law of the Blacks prevailed the people contributed of their means willingly for a quite non-religious reason: The central treasury belonged to the people and was maintained for people's welfare; and not only for public projects but for the relief of each and every individual in distress whose needs could not be met by his family or clan. However, African constitutional law received its first blows in Egypt in the wake of numerous invasions and foreign rule, followed later by its almost complete destruction by Muslim and European conquests.

The ancient religion that gave birth to science and learning, art, engineering, architecture, the resources for a national economy and political control—that same religion was the mother of history, of writing, of music, the healing art, the song and the dance.

The first historians were the professional story-tellers and traveling singers. Both recounted the deeds of leaders, important events such as wars and migrations, and how and by whom the society or state was founded. Poetry and music were the creations of the people in general and, like the dance, came so easily that they seemed to be the natural heritage of everyone. The dance also recorded a message, just as the various musical instruments and singing tell a story, appealed for spiritual aid from God and ancestors, expressed joy for successful harvest, hunting, victories in war or forms of prayer to ward off the evil spirits that always seek to overcome the good. Sickness is one of these evils. Hence the association of medicine with the spiritual forces for good. The ritual for appealing to a Power beyond man is called "Magic" by Westerners, that is, if they are discussing Africa. Exactly the same belief and practice are called "divine healing" in Christianity.

The great civilization of the Blacks that for countless ages was centered around Nowe (Thebes) did not just happen. Progress does not happen automatically. Every forward step made by these early Blacks was made—you might even say *forced*—by the imperatives of what had to be done to survive. Bear in mind that spiritual

survival was more important than physical—a concept the modern world is not expected to understand at all.

The development of writing is not explained by the simple statement of a "need to communicate." The idea of permanence seemed to motivate the drawing of pictures and symbols which were man's first step toward the art of writing. Significantly, the scribes arose in the holy temples. And this is why so many inscriptions of historical importance have been found there—on walls, altars and on colonnades. The world's oldest city that not only had the greatest number of temples but also the oldest, must have been the place where the largest mass of historical data would have been found, if the plunderers from different countries had not destroyed, stolen, and carried away so much of it. Here we need not be as much concerned with further testimony such as that of Diodorus affirming that the Thebans were the oldest (first) men on earth, according to their tradition, and that they also originated the systems of philosophy and astrology—we need not be as much concerned about their antiquity, which is already well established, as we are about the loss of so much of the additional evidence concerning the development of philosophy and the beginning of the space science of astrology.

Ancient Greek scholars, through Herodotus, referred to the completion of their education in Ethiopia with pride and, it appears, as a matter of course. So much has been built up against the Black race since those far away times that it will be difficult for many people of today to realize that whites of the ancient world did not seem to regard the question of Ethiopia as the principal center of learning as even debatable. But, we have to remind ourselves constantly, racism as we know it today was practically-non-existent. When an ancient people boasted of their superiority over another nationality group the terms of reference were conquest, political rule, and some kind of myth to legitimize that rule. When the fortunes of war enabled one white nation to enslave the entire population of another white state, no one believed that the conquered people were actually, that is, innately inferior to the conquerors. Neither did the relatively backward Asian whites who invaded Egypt consider themselves superior to the Black builders of the civilization they found there.

The emphasis has been on the Thebald as all Upper Egypt,

Upper Egypt as Upper Ethiopia, and Thebes (Nowe) as its most ancient city and one of the very earliest centers of Black civilization. And we have said that the ancient whites so regarded it. The Greek historian, Erathosthenes, refers to Menes as "The Theban" and first king of Thebes (meaning the Thebaid or Upper Egypt when it was united with Lower Egypt, and the beginning of the First Dynasty 3100 B.C.). The same historian noted that Menes reign of sixty-two years was one of the longest in history, and that of his nephew, Atothones, ran a close second, fifty-nine years.

During this early period—and before Memphis was founded—"The City of a Hundred Gates" spread six square miles over both sides of the Nile. It was also the "City Beautiful," being called by more different glorifying names than any city known to the ancient world. Its widest avenues, lined with spinxes, temples, palaces and monuments could accommodate the array of colorful chariots, twenty abreast. It was also "The Two Cities," or "The City of the Living" and "The City of the Dead." One was on the east side of the river and the other was on the west side. Each vied with the other in a race for magnificence. Palaces and mansions were largely concentrated on the East Bank. Temples, being everywhere, were about as numerous in the "City of the Living" as in the "City of the Dead" on the West Bank where the mortuary temples of kings and queens were located, along with the various religious cults, and houses of priests, craftsmen, soldiers and the masses. The West Bank was such a beehive of industrial, commercial and religious activities that "City of the Dead" even though it refers to its famous burial places, is nevertheless a very misleading name. Thebes' status as the capital city and center of imperial activities rose and declined, with few exceptions, according to the race or nationality of the ruling dynasty at that time. Being the center of black power, it was a main object for destruction by non-African invaders and, after they had achieved control, they established new capitals elsewhere. The importance of the city that had been the envy of the world was ignored, and many of its cultural activities were transferred elsewhere. No white pharaoh could feel either comfortable or safe in the center of one of the most heavily populated areas of Blacks in the empire. The Colored Egyptians generally felt the same way. Thebes was also eclipsed at times by the building programs of Black kings in their drive to advance from the very

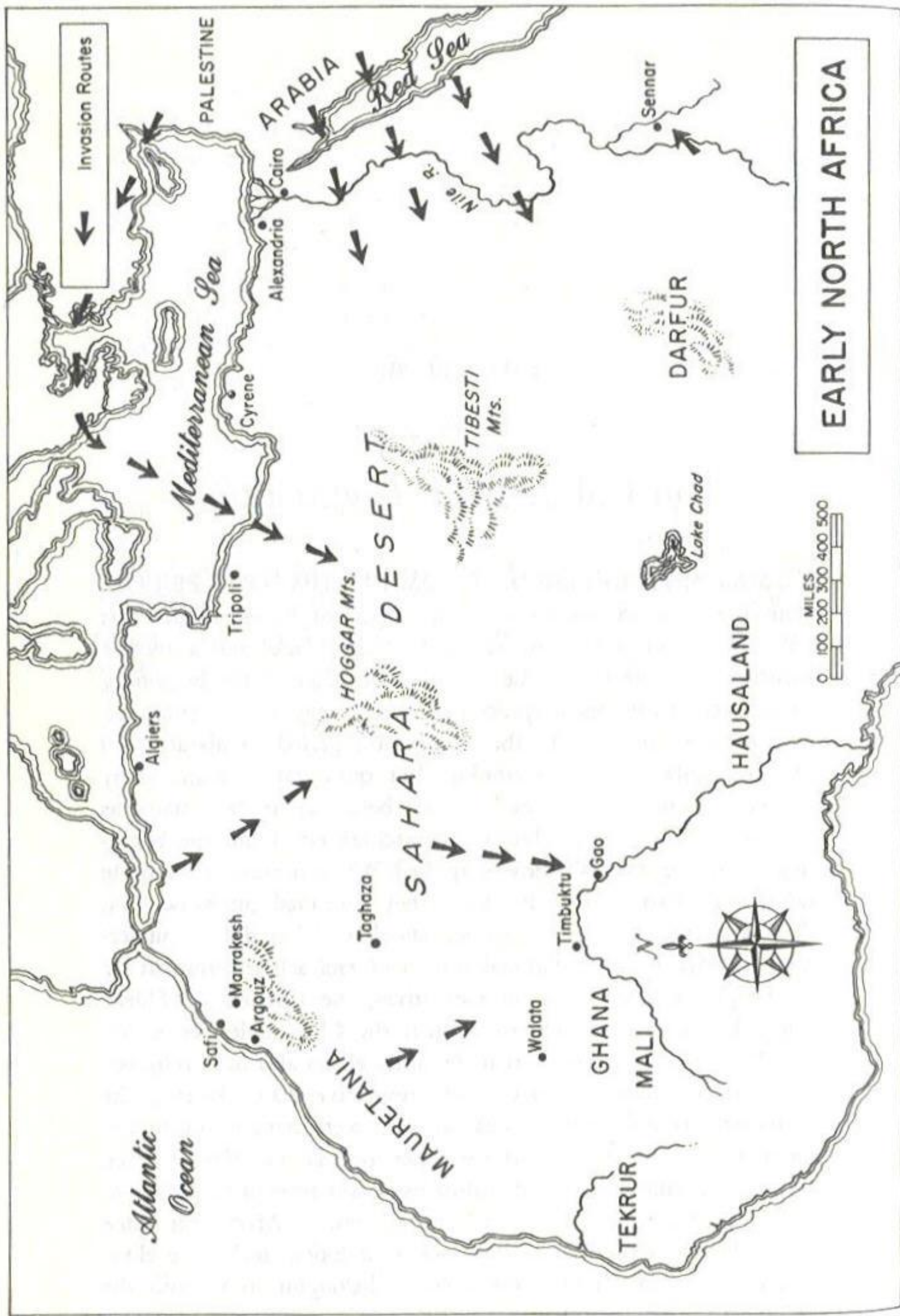
old to the very new, and also for the purpose of securing a more effective centralized administration. The building of Memphis was for this purpose. On the other hand, Piankhi and his successors in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty apparently preferred the capital city of Napata in the deep South over both Thebes and Memphis. Was this because the Holy City of Napata was like Meroe, the one great all-Black city that had never been defiled by the conquerors' hands? We may so speculate. It is clear, however, that Thebes reflected the shifts in power more directly whether or not the shifts were occasioned by internal or external forces. It declined as Memphis rose during the dynasties I, II, III, IV and V. (3100-2345 B.C.) These were the first five African lineages to rule after the reunification. There was a further decline of Thebes after the Fifth Dynasty, and again for internal reasons of a quite different nature. Suffice it to say that after the period during which there was an active policy of integrating Africans and Asians through the Memphis capital on their dividing line (the border between Upper and Lower Egypt), native kings generally sought to restore to its ancient glory the city so dear to the hearts of the Blacks.

CHAPTER III

Egypt: The Rise and Fall of Black Civilization

WE MAY NOW REVIEW AND SUM UP THIS LONG PERIOD, beginning with an outline of some important developments that highlight factors in the rise and fall of the Blacks and a further discussion of those factors. Let us therefore begin at the beginning where some of the misinterpretations were simply due to ignorance.

This takes us back to the predynastic period of about 4500 B.C.—certainly not the beginning, but quite far enough. Many writers refer to the "kingless" periods before centralized states as the rule of nobles, oligarchies or hierarchies, etc. From the beginning, therefore, the Westerners applied Western concept to quite different African institutions. Later they described the same kind of societies as "chiefless" or, worse, "stateless." They did not understand the African constitutional system of *real* self-government by the people through their representatives, the Council of Elders. Nor did they seem to understand that the Chief Elder, or Chief, was also the Chief Priest or that the other elders also have religious functions in connection with their respective clans. During the predynastic period under discussion they were neither oligarchies nor hierarchies as these terms are understood in the West. In fact, the Western conception of kingship itself was foreign to traditional Africa. What the West called "king" was, in Africa, the same senior elder who presided at the Council of Elders, had to be elected, and only then if he had the honor of belonging to a family the



ancestors of which either founded the state or was the most outstanding in promoting the welfare of the whole people. To such a family the Africans gave permanent leadership status as long as descendent candidates qualified for it. Westerners called this the "royal family." But, again, the "royal family" concept was unknown to traditional Africa where the chief or "king" was the chief representative of the people before God and man and at once the personifications of the people's dignity and the instrument for carrying out their will. Much confusion and trouble developed and still exist all over the continent because Africans generally accepted Western and Asian expressions without accepting their underlying ideas. Hence an African king who attempted to be an absolute monarch or "oriental dictator" generally found himself in trouble rather quickly.

THE "BLACKOUT" IN REVIEW

The conversion of names in Egypt was on such a universal scale that its African origin and character were changed as much as it was humanly possible to do. Small political units or states, which Europeans style as chiefdoms in other parts of Africa, become nomarchies in Egypt.

Since Asians and some Europeans were heavily concentrated in Lower Egypt, it became relatively easy for them to appropriate exclusively for themselves not only the name "Egyptian," but also all achievements by the Blacks in Upper Egypt and the rest of the Ethiopian empire. Holding the sea-coasts and thus blocking African contact with the rest of the world, these "white Egyptians" were able to perpetuate the myth so successfully that even today many remarkable achievements by Blacks elsewhere over the continent are attributed to "Egyptian influence." There is something amusing here too. For when they refer to "Egyptian influence" on African institutions they are in fact pointing out Black influence on Black institutions throughout Africa. No one but a fool would deny Asian and European influence in Egypt and elsewhere in Africa. This is a fact that is obvious, but not more obvious than the nature of that influence as it was discussed in part before. It can be singled out and separated from the basic institutions of the

Blacks as easily as we can separate Islam and Christianity from the traditional African religion.

Another predynastic situation to keep in mind concerns government in the Two Lands. All Asians had their kings in Lower Egypt and the Blacks had their kings in Upper Egypt. The long drawn-out wars between the two races were over the unification and control of the Two Lands. These struggles apparently had been going on since the Asian incursions began in prehistoric times. And it was not just the control of all Egypt to the First Cataract that was involved, but unification and rule of the whole Ethiopian empire from the Mediterranean Sea to the very source of the Nile. This great design and all-consuming objective throughout the history of Africa must be understood if, for example, one is to understand why even black pharaohs of Egypt carried the wars into the heartland of their own race, trying to subdue a rebellious Nubia, Wawat or Cush. Southern separatist movements and rebellions spread as Asian influence and integration spread in the North.

Viewing the outcome from the long perspective of history, Menes' great victory over the Asians, the union of the white and black lands, and the subsequent policy of trying to promote brotherhood through integration—all this turned out to be not a victory for the Blacks, but the beginning of their ultimate downfall and almost permanent degradation as a people. It has been pointed out that up to the time of Menes' victory over them, the Asians were rather firmly held behind a border line along the 29th parallel. Few were allowed in the all-black regions of Upper Egypt. With unification the situation radically changed in that the gates to the South were now open to the people who already held a fourth of the country. The Black masses were therefore apprehensive about the new unification policies, and the general hostility to the Asians checked any immediate and widespread infiltrations southward. But time was on the side of the whites whose most commendable attributes are tactful persistence when overt, aggressive action is for the moment inexpedient, and their careful planning for their future generations with what appears to be more interest in the future welfare of their descendants than they are in the living. In Lower Egypt they could bide their time and overcome the triumphant Blacks in many ways. Asian kings in

Lower Egypt, now dethroned, still had a direct power over the Blacks through the "New Brotherhood" of integration and amalgamation. The African matrilineal system made the Asian route to the African throne easy when compared with the generally patrilineal system of the whites. All the Asian kings had to do—whether in Lower Egypt or on the Asian continent—was to promote the marriage of royal males to the oldest sisters of African kings. The first born male in such a marriage, though Afro-Asian, would be the number one candidate for the throne.

The other event to be awaited with patience was the passing of so many great African leaders and the coming of weaker ones. This was an historic certainty unless cycles of past developments were to be no more.

But time seemed slower and longer during the first five dynasties, each of which was characterized by great leaders—a period of seven hundred and fifty-five years. The roll call brings forth names that still resound through the corridors of time: Menes, Athothes, Peribsen, Khasekhem, Imhotep, Zoser, Sneferu, Khufu, Khafre, Userkaf, Neferefre, and others who reestablished Ethiopian power—a united empire—and held it without a serious challenge for almost a thousand years.

During this period active foreign trade and expanded contacts with other countries were now possible. Internal stability was achieved through the process of increased centralization of power at Memphis and the perfection of the bureaucracy of the vast imperial administration. The state became the chief promoter and inspirer of progress on all fronts: Agriculture, industrial development, science, the arts, engineering, massive building programs, mining and ship building. The rapid rise and expansion of numerous crafts, each an organized secret society, stimulated the remarkable industrial and building developments. Internal peace and stability provided the opportunity for the outpouring of much hitherto dormant native genius, and religion was the chief motivating source. Every craft society had its own patron sub-god (not to be confused with the Supreme God). It was during this same period that stone was first used in building, hieroglyphic writing was first invented, the great pyramids were built, stone quarrying perfected and expanded and Imhotep became the world's greatest architect and the "Father of Scientific Medicine." It was seven and

a half centuries of the most glorious pages in the history of the black world.

There was a concentration of some of the greatest leaders in the Fourth Dynasty, 2613-2494 B.C. Thereafter fewer and fewer of the great kings appeared to stem the disorganization that was clearly developing near the close of the Sixth Dynasty. The most notable achievement was doubtless the compilation of the Palermo Stone Annals—a work of great historical importance.

The Old Kingdom ended with this dynasty. The great wealth of the nation, continued international commerce and internal progress overshadowed the accelerating disintegration in the country. Conflicts between the religious cults battling for more and more political power expanded. Rebellions of various chiefdoms, seeking independence from weak and weaker rulers at Memphis, also spread. Decentralization became the order of the day—the day for which the Asians had been patiently waiting so long. Under weak rulers at Memphis and the breaking up of the country into small independent areas (nomarchies), Asian penetration and expansion in the "Black Land" became the normal scene.

Earlier, I referred to the African failure to employ the essentials of real nation-building, and proposed certain criteria they generally fail to use. When this is done our Black students often protest that the "same is also true of many non-African peoples." They would like to take comfort in this fact—for it is a fact—and forget the whole thing. But I am not now dealing with these "other peoples." I am concerned here only with *African* life and history. The failures of one people should serve as a warning of what to avoid, and not as a justification for similar failures by another. The glaring weakness in the unification of the Ethiopian empire was the absence of any national program for the development of a national solidarity and a sense of national community and belonging that aimed at overcoming the greater local or tribal loyalties.

To begin with, there were too many tributary states within the empire. Their very reason for being a part of the empire was mainly tribute, their regular contributions to the imperial treasury. Such states did not and, indeed, could not feel themselves to be integral parts of the empire. Blinded by the wealth that was pouring into the national treasury, the empire builders were unable to see or understand the requirements of the human heart and spirit

for the formation of attitudes of love and devotion toward a national citizenship. We shall be discussing the traditional African constitution later because every expanding African kingdom and empire already had the guidelines to both greatness and permanence, but guidelines which the leaders either thought applied only to small states or felt themselves to be so rich and powerful that the traditional constitutional safeguards could be safely ignored. In the smaller states or tribal societies the African constitutional system operated to promote equal justice, individual and group welfare or social security, and an undying loyalty to the group. The very scheme of social organization assured all this. Group solidarity became a natural development. An almost fierce spirit of brotherhood prevailed in all tribal states. The work of expanding this spirit as the nation expanded was rarely undertaken.

Since there was no such program in the best of times, the "every-province-for-itself" spirit was chaff before the storms of invasions. The invaders had found it easy to establish another Asian capital even at Heracleopolis. This move, in view of the general trend throughout Ethiopia, was thought to be taken at the most propitious time—the time when the empire was falling apart and no one was in command. But Asian assumption of imperial power and the establishment of their capital in the center of the black world aroused the disorganized and leaderless people to fury. And the Asians apparently had not taken Thebes into account—Thebes the seat of the Blacks' war god and the place from which the mightiest African armies always came. Of course, even with this knowledge neither the Asians nor anyone else would expect any threat from Thebes in the present state of national chaos. But the Blacks had always looked to Thebes in times of crisis, leaders or no leaders. They did so now. Theban leaders emerged, and with them fighting men arose to battle the Asians again. Heracleopolis fell to the Blacks; but Asian kings were able to hold Lower Egypt again and reestablish dynasties there under Kheti I and his successors. Western historians refer to this period as the First Intermediate Period, 2181-2040 B.C., and further confuse an already too confused situation by mixing the Asian rulers of Lower Egypt with the African rulers of Upper Egypt, and then listing all the dynasties sequentially so that from such an arrange-

ment one cannot distinguish the white Asian dynasties, kings or pharaohs from the Black. So the eleven Asian kings of Lower Egypt that followed Kheti I appear as "Kings of Egypt."

We should pause at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom, 2133 B.C., because during the long 1500 years covered by my brief summary one of the most unusual socio-political phenomena occurred. It has been referred to numerous times before in terms of its development, but now the unexpected has happened. At this point we have passed fifteen centuries of African-Asian amalgamation, at first largely in Lower Egypt, but afterward more and more in Black Upper Egypt. The Afro-Asian offsprings were called the "New Breed," the distinguishing characteristics of which were devotion to Asians and hatred of Africans. Unless this point is grasped, we may as well drop the study of African history insofar as understanding fully the internal troubles of this race.

Firstly, the Afro-Asians, or "Coloureds," had far outnumbered the Asians in the northern population during the past 1500 years. Secondly, the Coloureds had become sensitively aware that they were suspended between two worlds, the black and the white, and that they were not fully accepted in either. Nowhere did their Asian fathers and other white kinsmen regard or accept them as equals, while the Blacks had come to hate them as much as they hated the Blacks. Thirdly, *out of this situation developed a passionate and defiant Egyptian nationalism that restricted the term "Egyptian" to Mulattoes alone.* Henceforth neither Asians nor Africans were to be called Egyptians. Indeed the New Breed began to treat Asians as strangers and no longer welcomed them *en masse* even in Lower Egypt. The Afro-Asians had apparently resolved that since they could not belong to either the black or white race, they would be a race by themselves, and in their own right—the Egyptian race. It worked. Asians, if unmixed, were now called Asians, and Africans, if unmixed, were called Africans or Ethiopians. They alone (the New Breed) were to be called Egyptians, and the writers of the world followed this classification from Homer's time to this day. I shall use the terms in the same way in all subsequent references. In the earliest period "Egyptian" would have meant the Blacks; later on it would have meant Blacks and Afro-Asians. The white Asians were never called Egyptians even when they ruled all Egypt (even the present day rulers of the land are

unhappy with the term and much prefer to be called what they are: Arabs—Hence, the change of the official name of the country from Egypt to the United Arab Republic).

However, the increasing hostility to the Asians was due to their offsprings' resentment over being rejected as equals and having a lower status in the society whenever white Asians were in control. Their hostility to the Africans had been nurtured from birth and remained the same. Yet they never failed to seek alliances with the Blacks when it suited their purposes (just as they do today thru OAU), or to marry into ruling African families to enhance and perpetuate their rule.

The Eleventh Dynasty was started with stronger black rulers, beginning with Mentuhotep and followed by three kings of the same name. Their rule was again limited to Upper Egypt, since the Asians had reestablished their rule in Lower Egypt during the period of nation-wide turmoil and rebellions. Mentuhotep II, after restoring order in Upper Egypt and promoting a rapid economic program, had turned north to repeat Menes' great feat of conquering Lower Egypt again.

ETHIOPIA SOUTH

But Ethiopia below the First Cataract did not return to the reunited imperial fold in the North. As we have seen, the southern kingdoms did not intend to return. Their defections had been going on, one after another, long before the general disorganization and rebellions during the Sixth and Seventh dynasties. Hostility to the Asian invasions was always greatest in the southern regions. Many of the people claimed the Asian-held areas as their ancestral home. They wanted Lower Egypt conquered and the Asians driven out. Menes had achieved the great victory, but the integration policies that followed were regarded as a betrayal of the Blacks. They had lost faith in the Black kings ruling from Memphis, who not only favored integration but promoted it. The steady movement of the whites from the Delta into Upper Egypt itself was proof enough for southern Blacks that the Asian aim was nothing less than ultimate control of all Ethiopia. So as the Asian presence and influence spread in Upper Egypt, the withdrawal of the Southern kingdoms appeared to keep pace.

But why were the Blacks farthest away from the Asian threat so much more concerned—or appeared to be—than those who still lived next door to the enemy in Upper Egypt? Even the larger number of refugees from Lower Egypt must have settled in Upper Egypt because the biggest concentration of Blacks was there. This would have been the situation around 2400 B.C. The answer may be that since Napata was regarded as the unchanging capital and center of the Black world—and not Nowe (Thebes) of glorious memory—any threat to this sacred area (Land of the Gods) was a threat to the survival of the race itself.

The first great southern division of the Ethiopian empire was the kingdom of Wawat, and below that was the far greater kingdom of Nubia which, like many other vast areas, while nominally a part of the empire, was at various times independent. The age-old dream of all the great kings—whether black, white, or mixed—was the consolidation of the Northern and Southern regions. Hence, the constant wars against Lower Egypt and, now again, Mentuhotep's war against Nubia. In both cases—that of the Asians in the far North and the Blacks in the far South—economics was the driving force. The hold on the sea-coasts not only blocked the Africans from world trade, but that fact enabled the Asians and Coloureds to control the domestic economy indirectly as well. The record shows that every time this Asian stranglehold was broken, African foreign trade flourished again and national prosperity began to rise. On the other hand, Southern Ethiopia (Nubia or Cush and Abyssinia) had to be more firmly integrated with the North, no matter how black the pharaohs of the time might be—and also for economic reasons. For the South actually had all Egypt at its mercy. The South was the real source of Egypt's wealth as it had been of Egypt's civilization. The gold mines were there, and also it was where the vast stone quarrying, copper, and tin mining were carried on. Here most of the papyrus plants from which the Blacks invented paper and built the first and finest boats from the same tough leaves. Here in the South was all the ivory and the only source of the then highly-prized ostrich feathers, etc. In short, Egyptian foreign trade depended almost entirely on Southern Ethiopia. Added to these economic imperatives, there was an even greater danger felt in the North. This was the control of the Nile, almost all of which—over 3,000 miles—flowed through Southern Ethiopia.

Black Upper Egypt, being in the middle, was forced by circumstances to play the leading role in the wars for unification in both directions and, considering the many centuries over which they were intermittently waged, they seemed destined to go on forever. It is noteworthy that all these long drawn-out efforts at unification of an empire under a centralized government were confined to the directly indispensable economic regions which were contiguous to each other.

Other "members" of the empire, even those that had long since stopped paying tribute, were not disturbed. In fact, as I have been indicating, "Ethiopian Empire" was often merely a geographical expression in so far as effective rule over all of its supposed parts was concerned. To keep the picture as clear as possible, we have to keep on remembering that at various periods in ancient times, the "Land of the Blacks" meant all Ethiopia, all Ethiopia meant all Africa, and all Blacks were Africans or Ethiopians or Thebans, etc. There were numerous independent states in the Western Land of the Blacks (Western Sudan) that may have claimed a membership alliance with the Ethiopian Empire as an expression of pride and nothing more—a symbolic gesture to the great state that was the "Mother of the Race" and bore the race's name—Ethiopian.¹ In any event, the extent of the territory claimed at times for the Empire was so vast that even if there had been efforts to consolidate states other than those directly north and south, it would have been impossible in the absence of administrative and communication systems for the task.

The war to bring Nubia under control started near the end of the Eleventh dynasty, went on for over four hundred years, ending in defeat for Southern Blacks in the next dynasty, 1991-1786 B.C. This period was notable for the further expansion of foreign trade, especially in Palestine, Syria, and Punt, the "Golden Age" of the arts and crafts, a vast program of land reclamation and marked improvements in irrigation.

By repetition, one of the greatest of the "Great Issues" stands out. With each and every mass invasion of the whites the physical characteristics of the Egyptian people changed more and more,

1. It is well known, of course, that "Ethiopian" is the Greek rendering of Black or the "sun-burnt people."

became more and more "Caucasoid" as more and more Blacks tended to move southward. When the white dynasties continued for several centuries, as in the case of the "Children of Israel," Semitic Caucasianization was accelerated on an ever-widening scale. One of the significant ethnic changes was that the only people then recognized as Egyptians (the Afro-Asians) became more and more Asian white both in color, language and culture. Upper Egypt was becoming less and less Black Egypt. Thebes under white rule was becoming a museum center for European and Asian collectors. So by the time Herodotus and other Greek historians arrived, Ethiopia, as an empire, extended only up to the First Cataract.

THE THIRD PERIOD OF GREAT RULERS

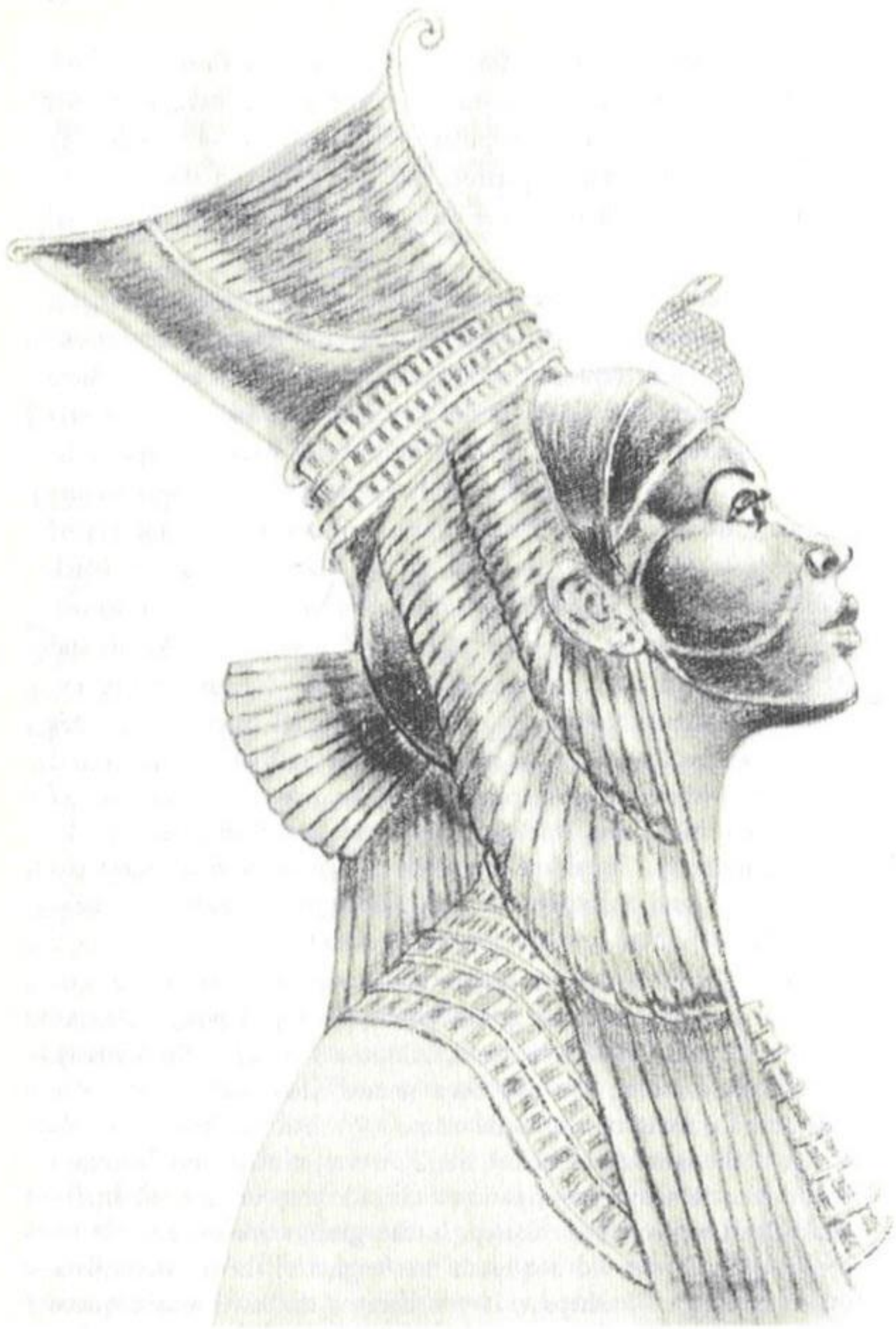
But that time was still far away when Kamose, the last Theban king in the Seventeenth Dynasty (1645-1567), opened a full-scale War of Liberation against the Hebrews and the greatest of the dynasties since the Fourth had now arrived. This was the remarkable Eighteenth Dynasty with a line of kings and queens who became immortal: Ahmose I, Nefertari, Amenhotep II, Thutmose I, Thutmose II, Queen Hatshepsut the Great, Amenhotep III, Ikhnaton, the "Great Reformer," and Tutankhamen. It was called the "New Empire," and so it was in fact. The Hyksos rule was broken and they were "expelled." This, however, could only apply to the rulers and their immediate followers. The Hyksos masses were scattered over the country and permanently settled as "Egyptians." They had become integrated into Egyptian society, were contributing to its development on all fronts, and so were not disturbed when their leaders were expelled. There was the usual revival of domestic industry, agriculture and foreign trade, along with the expansion of imperial rule in Palestine and Syria to the Euphrates in Mesopotamia. This expansion of empire and its promise of great wealth from the accompanying expansion of trade meant renewal of the wars against their Black brothers holding the economically indispensable South. So this time the new and most powerful central government was able to extend its rule farther south than ever; that is, to the Fourth Cataract—almost to the Holy City of Napata itself.

For Western writers to state the obvious truth that the Black

rulers of Egypt did not hesitate to wage wars against the Black rulers of Southern Ethiopia—to state this would have destroyed their biggest myth: The Egyptians (white Asians or Coloureds) were always the conquering heroes over the Blacks in the South. In short, as previously stated, these wars did not always follow a racial pattern.

As would be expected under Black rulers, Thebes was again reorganized under the Eighteenth Dynasty and much of its ancient grandeur restored. Temple building in the grand style was resumed. The Eighteenth, like some of the previous African dynasties, was well integrated with "loyal Asians." For there were—it should be needless to say—countless thousands of Asians who were wholeheartedly devoted to the Blacks, just as there were thousands of Afro-Asians (Egyptians) as loyal to the Black race as any Black could possibly be. Therefore, when an overall picture is presented, such as in my discussion of the attitudes of Asians, Afro-Asians and Africans toward each other, one should keep the always big exceptions in mind. Nothing is ever all white, all black and, in this case, all half-white either. In the case of the half-whites, the record overflows with those who, contrary to the rule, hated the fact of their white blood and stuck to the Blacks and their cause all the more tenaciously. These are the kinds of outcomes that reflect the complexities and variations of the human mind, and that make generalization about a whole people so ridiculous.

The 'Great 18th' had begun under the most favorable circumstances, for one of the great Black queens of Egypt, Nefertari, and her equally famous husband, Ahmose I, headed the dynasty. As was the custom, she had been named after some of the distinguished queens of the same name who had preceded her. No queen of the same name before her, however, ranked near Nefertari of the 18th in active participation and leadership in national affairs. She helped her son, Amenhotep, in the great work of national reconstruction. If she did not reach the heights of the greatest Black queen of Egypt, Hatshepsut, it was because the latter was a queen absolute, ruling alone as a king (to emphasize the point she often dressed in royal male attire, including the false beard and wig). But the comparison is hardly fair because each was great in her field of



QUEEN HATSHEPSUT,
the greatest woman Pharaoh
of Black Egypt. 18th Dynasty.

work, and that work was largely predetermined, and the role to be played by each was clear. And that was why, in the end, both Nefertari and Amenhotep I were deified as the founders of one of the world's greatest line of rulers and some of the finest monuments were erected to their memory. Had the people forgotten Ahmose, her husband, who was the true founder?

Queen Hatshepsut, daughter of Thutmose I, was indeed a "man" in many of her aggressive and unyielding characteristics as a ruler. As regent for Thutmose III, she tended to be an absolute ruler and, by expertly relying on her feminine charms, she was able to have her own way without a real check by the Council—something few African kings could do successfully. But it was not all due to "feminine charms"—and perhaps not at all. For Hatshepsut was, in fact, one of the most brilliant minds that ever ascended the throne of a nation. Her reign was in two parts, one as regent and the other as reigning queen in her own right. There was actually no difference, for Thutmose III was too young to count. Even before becoming legal ruler, therefore, she was actively pushing the things dearest to the hearts of all great African leaders: the expansion of foreign trade, international diplomatic relations, perfection of national defenses, vast public building programs, securing the South and the North through either peace or war and—one of her "pet projects"—building a great navy for both commerce and war. Her success on most of these fronts made her one of the giants of the race.

Meanwhile, the next Thutmose was waiting with increasing impatience and frustration to succeed a woman who, to him at least, seemed destined to live forever. The fact that his wife was the Queen's daughter did not affect the really morbid hatred of his royal mother-in-law, unless it was to increase it. Consequently, when he finally became King Thutmose III at last, he himself did what Asians and Europeans were to do on a scale so grand that the history of ancient Egypt as essentially black history was almost completely obliterated—he undertook to erase her name from all the monuments and temples she had built, destroy all documents bearing her name, smash all sculptured likenesses, paintings and, indeed, anything that might indicate that Hatshepsut ever lived. Also, as later Europeans and Asians were to do to all recognized Blacks, Thutmose III had his own name and that of his brother engraved where Hatshepsut's had been chiselled out, thus taking credit for all of

her achievements in addition to his own outstanding works. These were many, and need not be detailed since so much of it repeats the works of great leaders already discussed. Queen Tiy was also one of Egypt's remarkable Queens. Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy gave a son to Egypt who was destined to be one of the greats in the Black world. This was Amenhotep IV, known to fame as Ikhнатon. He was different than all of his predecessors. He was more preacher than king, and the greatest single spiritual force to appear in the history of the Blacks. His great religious reform movement aimed at a greater focus on the One and Only Almighty God, Creator of the Universe. The numerous lesser gods were overshadowing the Almighty by causing the people to be more directly involved with them through the endless number of competing cults, and a too self-serving priesthood promoting the cults. Such an unheard of stand by the leader of the nation meant revolution and certain rebellion by the powerful priesthoods all over the land. The new doctrine did not reach the masses and the nonspiritual demands for leadership on pressing earthly fronts put the king in an unhappy situation. One was the continued Asian harassments on the eastern borders Ikhнатon now became more and more indifferent as his religious movement declined. After 17 years of heroic efforts, he passed in 1362, leaving the reins to Tutankhamen. This stepson's efforts to carry on the work of his father had only limited success. The old-time religions still prevailed. Ikhнатon's impact on the nation, however, was everlasting. His proposed reforms had more to do with a shift in emphasis than in faith. But even this seems to have been regarded as a direct threat to the powerful priesthood that, no matter how much divided into numerous cults, could unite in a common cause.

The power of the priesthood rose as the kings of Egypt became more preoccupied with secular affairs than their religious role as high priests of The Most High. It has been pointed out that the ruler's political influence stemmed not from the constitution but from his close relationship with the gods. The priests themselves had promoted the evolution of an idea of the ruler's role as chief priest and intermediary with the ancestral dead and the gods to the idea of the ruler's kinship with the gods, thereby becoming divine himself, the son or daughter of a god, and, finally, a god himself.

As custodians of the temples, the priests were promoting and making their own positions more powerful and secure by promoting the divine kingship idea. It meant that each king would try to outdo his predecessors in building more and more temples, bigger and finer temples, colossal burial structures—the pyramids—for the royal saints and the sons and daughters of Amon, Horus, Set, etc. etc.

The priests were in the most strategic positions to acquire great economic and political power for themselves quite naturally and without any particular efforts to do so. They were the first men of learning—scribes, historians, scientists, architects, physicians, artists, mathematicians, astrologers, and especially chemists. Many temples therefore, were colleges as well as places of worship. The temples were also places through which flowed much of the national revenue. We could go on and on, indicating how and why priests became so politically powerful in Egyptian life that even a great king like Ikhnaton could not overcome their opposition. It was too late for him to escape from the now traditional status of being "divine." One might say it was the price a god has to pay for god-makers.

In 1320 B.C., the Age of the Ramses began. This time, a line of great leaders was not followed by a line of weaklings. This was the Nineteenth Dynasty, 1320-1200 B.C. And while it did not equal the "Glorious Eighteenth," the Rameside kings stamped their periods as one of the most outstanding in the long history of the country. It was only near its end that the usual phenomenon of weakness and decline in the cycle began to set in general social, economic, and political disorganization. The Ramses rule continued in the Twentieth Dynasty, 1200-1085.

The Twenty-First, Twenty-Second, and Twenty-Third periods, 1085-730 B.C. again illustrated, as I stated before, the fallacy of trying to chronicle African history in Egypt by dynasties. I pointed out that at various times during the long, long struggles for power we find several different "dynasties" ruling at the same time from their respective capitals in various parts of the country. Every period of weak kings at Memphis or Thebes was a general breakdown during which exactly the same thing happened over and over again: The Asian Lower Egypt became independent again, and from its capital at Avaris or Sais pushed the expansion of Asian

power in Upper Egypt. By 1085, the Asian population was so vast there that new Asian dynasties were relatively easy to establish almost anywhere north of the First Cataract. During one of these periods, 70 kings in 70 days are reported.

The picture now was one of those confused scenes of Black dynasties, Asian dynasties, Egyptian dynasties (Afro-Asian), combination dynasties (those formed by alliances between two of the above groups)—all ruling simultaneously in Egypt from various capitals. Many historians were further misled by the fact that while some of these so-called dynasties claimed to be the imperial government of all Egypt, others made no such claim and confined themselves to their local chiefdoms or nomarchies. Significantly, many of the latter were headed by priests.

Our reference to dynasties formed by alliances between two groups against a third could be misleading to those who failed to grasp what had been said about the changing ethnic character of the dynasties over many centuries. From the Fifth and Sixth dynasties on, we have pointed out, Asian penetration through the "royal marriage route" caused the succeeding dynasties, with few exceptions, to be more and more mixed. Often they were only predominantly black, half-black, less than half-black, or predominantly Asian or Egyptian (Afro-Asian). The founders of the Eighteenth Dynasty, like many similar instances, illustrate the reality of the process. For it is well known that the famous Queen Nefertari was "all black," while her equally great husband, Ahmose I, was mulatto (Egyptian). So that the Eighteenth, like the great Nineteenth Dynasty of the Ramses, was predominantly Black, not all-Black. On the other hand, the long periods of all-white Asian and European dynasties were emphasized—and had to be emphasized—to set the record straight.

There were also, for still another example, "Libyan dynasties," indicated by the Libyan names of the rulers. But who, now, were the Libyans? They were, first of all, Western Ethiopians, then heavily Berber, Mongolian, Arab, a sprinkling of Hebrews and other Asiatic peoples, and then, of course, the resulting Afro-Asians. The ethnic composition of Libya was about the same as that of early Egypt, with the exception that there were fewer Europeans and more Mongolians. Libya was once so nearly all black that to be called a Libyan meant Black. So the Libyan dynas-

ties during this period could have been predominantly white, Black, Afro-Asian or a combination of all three, depending upon what faction was in the ascendancy at the time.

It is also worth noting that not only the whites of Lower Egypt took advantage of every breakdown in the center (Upper Egypt), and declared its independence and tried to extend its rule over the whole land, Southern Ethiopia tried to do exactly the same thing. The truth is that the milleniums of contests over Egypt were never really over unification *per se*, but who should rule the land *after* unification was completed—the whites of the Delta or the Blacks of Southern Ethiopia, particularly those south of the First Cataract. Indeed, as the Asianization of Upper Egypt increased, migrations of the Blacks southward increased, hostility toward the North increased, and the resolve of the Blacks to attempt to reconquer all of their land all the way to the Mediterranean was renewed once more.

The southern region, therefore, generally became independent as soon as Lower Egypt became independent. It began to threaten Upper Egypt at the same time the Asian threat was spreading. The Southern Ethiopians were even more bitter because they had to fight the "integrationist blacks" of Egypt just as hard as they had to fight the whites from Lower Egypt and Libya. The South was no more prepared to accept the Afro-Asians as rulers than it was to accept all-white rule. If anything, they trusted the mixed breeds less because of their ability to play either white or black roles as it suited their purposes. This may also be the reason so many Blacks opposed large scale amalgamation. It appeared as one of the white man's most effective weapons for the domination of the race while at the same time slowly removing it from the face of the earth. As proof, the Ethiopians could ask, from whence came our worst enemies, the Egyptians? Are they not half Ethiopian? And do they not now scorn the very Ethiopian name itself, proclaiming themselves to be "white?"

The Ethiopians, therefore, followed all developments to the north, northeast, and west with the closest attention. The activities of the probably Libyan king of the Twenty-Second dynasty, Sheshonk I, did not escape their notice and appraisal. From his capital at Bubastis in Lower Egypt, he pushed affairs on a number of fronts, including the usual strategy of marriage alliances with Black

ruling families—always with white males. These, after worming their way to power through the African inheritance-through-female-line system (matrilineal), could then change it to the Asian and Western patrilineal system. This invidious scheme for achieving power over the Blacks *through the Blacks* did not escape those on the alert. So the move of Sheshonk I in negotiating a marriage with the daughter of a king, thereby gaining legitimate control of Thebes—this well-known pattern of expanding Caucasian power, though well-known, never failed to create another stir in the still all-black areas. To make matters worse from the viewpoint of the Blacks, Sheshonk had another son made High Priest of the African god, Amon. The significance of this should be obvious: The whites were systematically preempting the whole of Egypt, even adopting as their own Black institutions they could not easily destroy. And they were wise enough to see that to control Africans, they would have to gain control of the African religion. So now, as the whites became priests and worshipers of the Supreme God and lesser gods of the Blacks in Egypt, the success of erasing every vestige of early African civilization was moving toward the absolute. As the white priesthoods became stronger and more widespread they were not only able to secure control of Thebes, the most powerful stronghold of the Blacks in Egypt, but, of equal importance, they were then in a position to gain followers in the rebelling nomarchies and persuade dissident chiefs to acknowledge the overlordship of Asian kings in various parts of the country. In short, they took over Africa's gods as their own as a means of taking over Africa as their own.

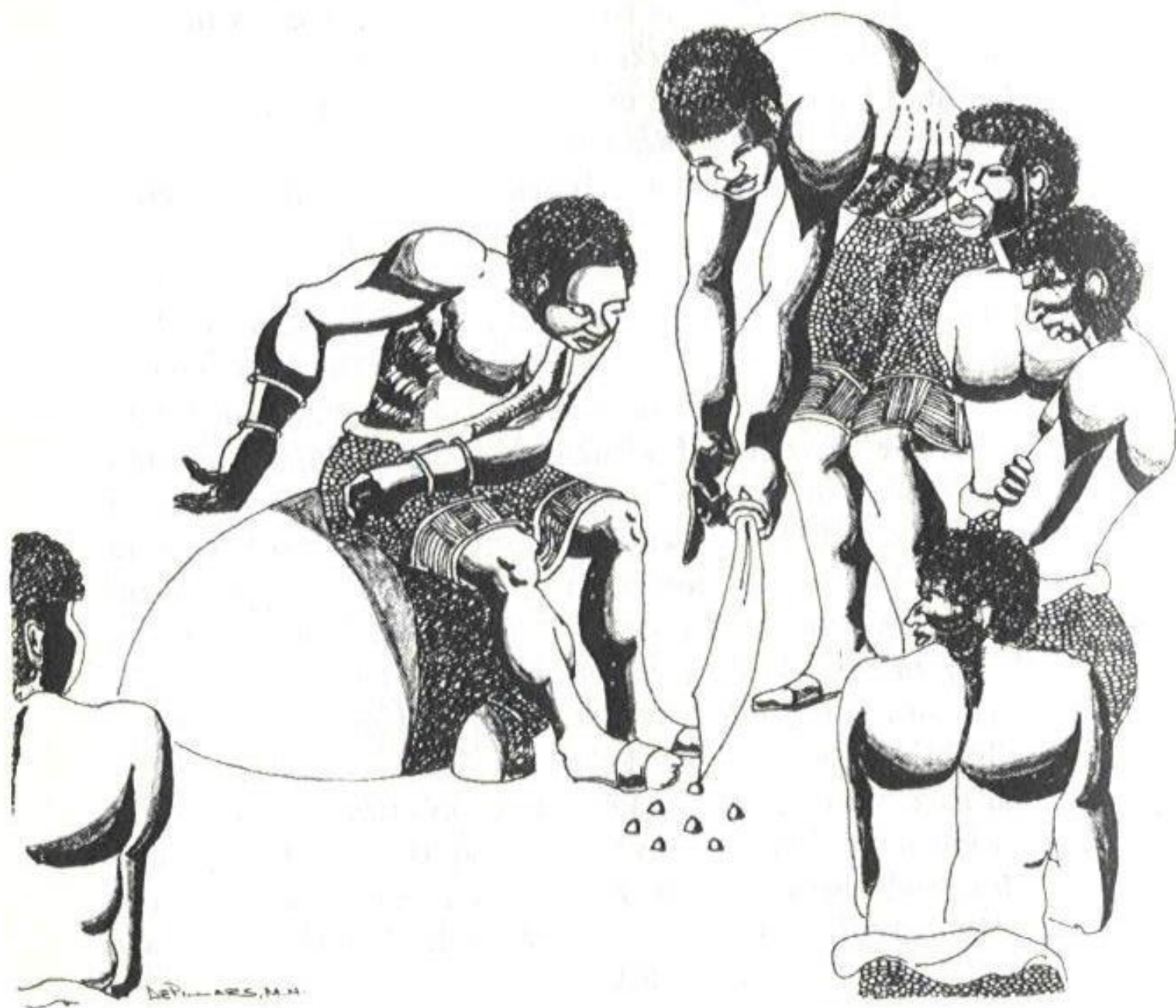
There was nothing sudden or new about all this. The process was as long and leisurely as Egyptian history itself, gaining rapid momentum only during the often-repeated decades of internal strife. Lower Egypt was always the area from which internal strife in Black Upper Egypt was planned and promoted. Secret agents, as mentioned earlier, are not new inventions of modern states. So the only thing new about Tefnakhte's penetrations of Upper Egypt between 730 and 715 B.C., was that this time, an Asian king (Libyan) from his Delta capital, now at Sais, had so inflamed Southern Ethiopia that all-out-war was declared against both Asians and Egyptians (Afro-Asians) and the twenty-one year old king, Piankhi, was given supreme command of the Black armies.

ETHIOPIA RECAPTURES EGYPT

In view of the extent of the expansion of Asian power in Upper Egypt, the Ethiopians' age-old dream of recovering their northern home lands now seemed to be, in very truth, an impossible dream. In 715 B.C., the strong situation of the Asians was such that the idea of the Blacks repeating Menes' feat of twenty-three centuries before—that of once again expanding the Ethiopian empire northward to the Mediterranean—now seemed fantastic. Both Asian kings, Tefnakhte and Bocchoria, were themselves great leaders and field commanders. And, of all things, they had already taken Thebes and practically had all Egypt under Asian control (some writers put it the other way and say they had control of the Thebaid—another name for Upper Egypt). The great city of Heracleopolis alone held out until the arrival of Ethiopian forces. The immediate objective of Piankhi and the Ethiopian generals was the recapture of Thebes. Supported by his naval forces moving down the Nile and the thousands of Black fighters who flocked to his standard as he moved northward through Upper Egypt, Piankhi's armies drove the Asians out of Thebes, reestablished it as the capital city of the North, put Tefnakhte and his court to flight and, apparently using tactics of Menes, pressed on to capture the once all-black capital city of Memphis. "The rightful rulers of our land have returned!" the oppressed Blacks cried as they flocked to his standard. Piankhi returned to the capital city of Napata in the "Heartland" before Lower Egypt was brought under control again. The task of reuniting the country under Ethiopian rule was left for his great successor, Shabaka.

Shabaka firmly established the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty—the *only* Western writers generally recognized as Black! This dynasty, however, should be of special significance for the Black world, not because it was African from the beginning, but because the end of this period, 730-656 B.C., marked the end of all-out efforts by the Blacks to retake Egypt.

The African victory over the Asians did not lessen the danger from them, for they always had the advantage of striking either from within or from Asia itself. Now the new threat came from Asia. Assyria was fighting its way toward Egypt. The pathways had been made easy because the previous Egyptian conquest of



War Council at Napata: Piankhi, Shabaka and generals plan for third great war against Asian invaders and the reconquest of all Egypt. They began the 25th Dynasty, and were the last of the all-black Pharaohs to rule the united empire from the Mediterranean to the highlands of Abyssinia.

Palestine and Syria had made these countries bastions of defense as long as they were properly governed. The later Egypt had been unable to do this. So Palestine and Syria, like Egypt itself, had become weak from internal disorganization. At first the Assyrian advance seemed to be concerned only with Syria and Palestine, not Egypt. Uneasiness spread as the Assyrian hosts approached the borders of Egypt.

However, Shabaka first followed the pattern of modern diplomacy by loudly professing one thing while actively doing the very opposite. In this case, Shabaka, while actively cultivating the friendship of the Assyrian king, Sargon II, was just as active in supporting the armies of the Syrians and Palestinians. "Modern," I say, because it was exactly the same kind of "commitment" and "special interests" policy that the United States maintains in East Asia and other places around the world. In 671 B.C., Esarhaddon led his Assyrian forces to victory near the Egyptian border and moved on to capture the city of Memphis—Memphis, just retaken from one army of Asians only to be lost to another. Esarhaddon seemed to have thought that he had conquered Egypt when he took the ancient capital. He retired after appointing local princes to collect the usual tribute. Shabaka's nephew, Taharqa, promptly marched up from the south again and massacred all of the Assyrian garrisons. Esarhaddon died leading a second expedition of vengeance in 669 B.C. His son, Ashurbanipal, assumed the leadership, invaded Egypt and put Taharqa to flight. The Egyptian governors were reinstated under a governor-general named Necho, also Egyptian. As was to be expected, the Blacks of Upper Egypt remained loyal to the African line. They shouted loud enough for posterity to hear that the Blacks were the "rightful rulers of Egypt." Taharqa was succeeded by his nephew, Tanutamón. He renewed the war against the Assyrians and the Egyptians, the latter preferring, as usual, to support the Asians against native Africans. Tanutamón recaptured Memphis again, during which battle the Egyptian governor-general Necho was slain. This put the Africans in a dominant position in Northern Egypt once again. But in 661 B.C., the outraged Ashurbanipal drove the African armed forces out of Northern Egypt, pursued them up the Nile, and burned their ancient city of Thebes—the stronghold of Black Power from times immemorial.

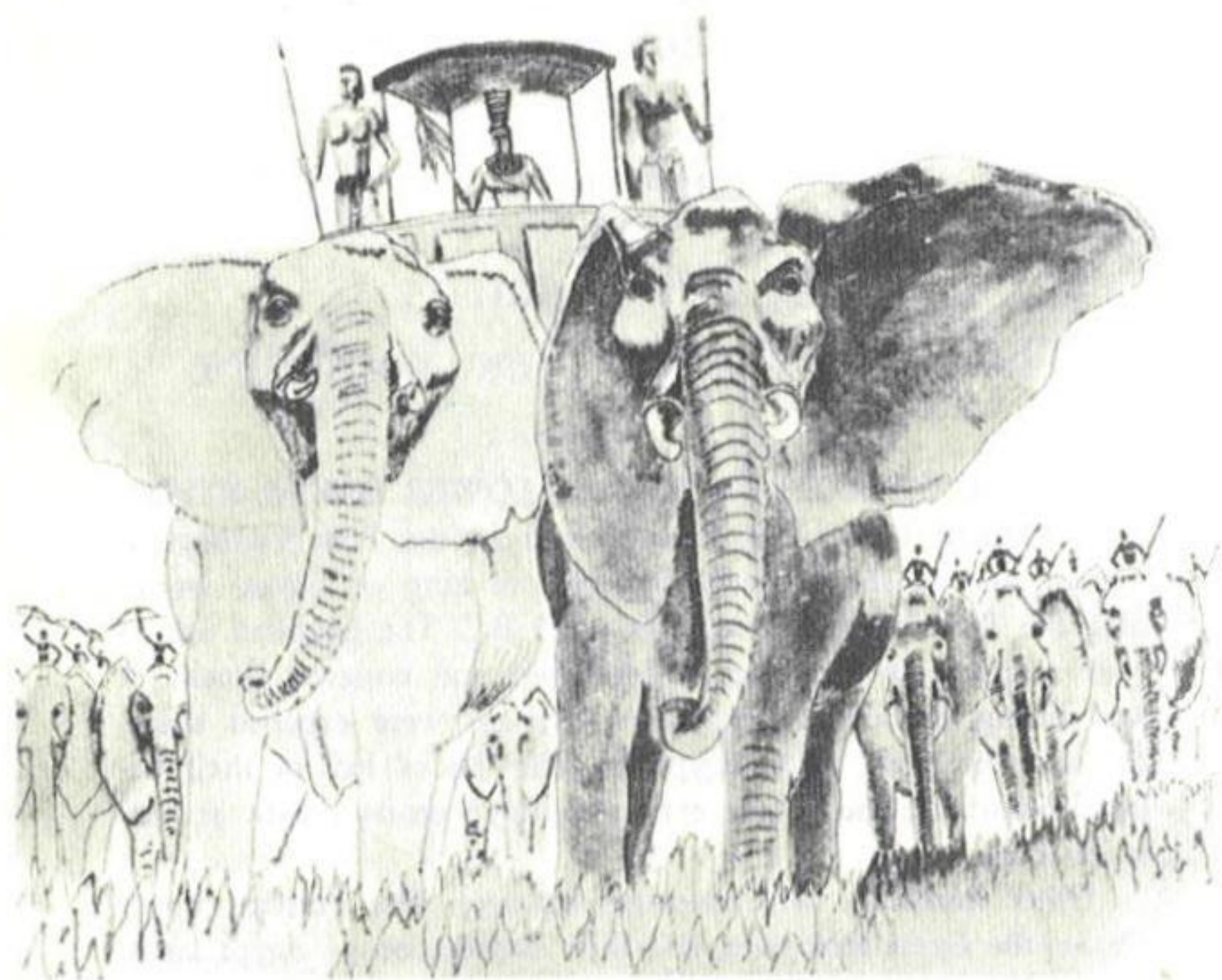
The Africans, eventually barred from further rule in Egypt, continued Piankhi's line first from the capital at Napata and then at Meroe where they promoted a broad reconstruction program. There the remarkable Twenty-Fifth Dynasty ended in 656 B.C. The line of kings from Piankhi to Tanutamun were all buried in the great Pyramids they and their ancestors had built at Napata. Let us follow the Blacks from Egypt there.

CHAPTER IV

The First Cataract: The Black World's New Borderline

HAVING LOST BOTH UPPER AND LOWER EGYPT, ETHIOPIA's northern border had been pushed to the First Cataract at Assuan, and Necho II eventually became king of Egypt, beginning the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty 664-525 B.C. The Egyptian armies were increasingly made up of foreigners and enslaved Blacks. It was during this dynasty that the Assyrians were expelled again, this time by nationalistic Egyptians. The Blacks' loss of their beloved Memphis, Thebes, and even their Egyptian name now seemed to be final.

Other invasions were to come, however. The Persians under Darius the Great took over, and their domination of Egypt lasted from 525 to 404 B.C., with the assistance of Greek mercenaries. They returned in 343 to reestablish their rule. Again it was of relatively short duration. Alexander reached Egypt in 332 B.C., on his world conquering rampage. But one of the greatest generals in the ancient world was also the Empress of Ethiopia. This was the formidable Black Queen Candace, world famous as a military tactician and field commander. Legend has it that Alexander could not entertain even the possibility of having his world fame and unbroken chains of victories marred by risking a defeat at last by a woman. So he halted his armies at the borders of Ethiopia and did not invade to meet the waiting Black armies with their Queen in personal command. Upon his death one of his most outstanding



Queen Candace, Empress of Ethiopia and General-in-Chief of its armies, waiting for Alexander the Great to cross the new borderline at the First Cataract. Alexander, having conquered Egypt easily, decided against the invasion of the ancient center of Black Power and halted his army at the First Cataract, 332 B.C.

generals became Pharaoh as Ptolemy I, and thus began 300 years of Macedonian-Greek rule.

Toward the end of Greek domination, the expansion of the Roman Empire had transferred the real center of power to Rome. Assyria, Persia, Greece, Rome—the continuing process of transforming a black civilization into a near-white civilization long before the Christian era.

The Ptolemaic period had been largely one of confusion. The division of power among Greeks, Macedonians and Egyptians, inter-marriages with the latter, joint rule, etc., made the Ptolemies at times merely nominal rulers. There were times when a native Afro-Asian ruler gained the center of the stage as the star attraction, as in the case of Cleopatra. Upon her death, Romans assumed direct control, 30 B.C., and ruled the country for seven centuries—beginning, therefore, just 30 years before Jesus Christ was born in the same Palestine where Blacks had lived and also ruled so long.

After this long period of domination, the Arab general Amr ibn-al-As, entered Alexandria in 642 A.D., with only 4,000 men. The conquest of Egypt by the Muslim armies, which had reached Pelusium two years earlier, was not only to change the character of Egyptian civilization radically, but it was to have a disastrous impact on the dignity and destiny of Africans as a people. The Arab conquest had opened the floodgates wider and Arabs poured in. Colonization and Islamization progressed, and as Egypt became a main center of Arab power this fact found concrete expression in Arab-Islamic expansion over North Africa, into Spain, and southward into what remained as "The Land of the Blacks."

THE NEW BORDERLINE OF THE BLACKS

We have traced the ancient struggles between Africans, mulattoes and Asians—struggle on the part of Africans not only to resist conquest but to retake the whole of Egypt. They succeeded at times, as has been shown. They finally lost all of Egypt, as we have also seen.

Ethiopia now began at the First Cataract in the North and extended South into present day Ethiopia. It was now bounded

by Upper Egypt, the Red Sea and the Libyan desert. These are rather general geographical designations without any precise meaning, for ancient Ethiopia had no precise southern boundaries. Ancient Ethiopians would say that their land included Egypt and was in fact without boundaries in Africa insofar as non-Africans were concerned. All of the European and Asian doctrines about "unoccupied" regions of Africa at any given period in history is quite meaningless and unacceptable to Africans. For to them, it is just as senseless as it would be to say to a farmer anywhere, "See here now! There are large sections of your land unoccupied and untended. So we'll just come in and take it!"

The Africans' area of great concentration then was ancient Nubia between the First and the Sixth Cataracts. It was the land where they continued to develop the great civilization after that which they had extended over Egypt had been appropriated by the invaders as their own handiwork.

The geography of Nubia is the geography of much of the present-day Sudan and beyond. The Nile flows through its sand and rock deserts with a series of falls and a number of rapids. The country is almost rainless. It is the land of the great Nubian desert. West of the Nile towards the Red Sea was the mining area, especially gold. It was, even within the concept of these geographical boundaries, the heartland of the Black world.

Already pushed by the invaders from the Mediterranean areas in the North, Northeast and Northwest, the Africans were to be further hedged in from the East and Southeast as the Asian hordes continued to stream across the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean and, much later, as the Dutch Boers poured in from the southernmost tip of the continent.

SCRAPS FROM PREHISTORY

The stone age Africans lived about the same as stone age peoples all over the world. They were hunters, fishermen and craftsmen. Archaeologists have dug up some of their tools and other artifacts at Wadi Halfa, Wawa, Sai Island, Wadi Hudi, the Selima oasis, Tangasi, Tagiya and other places. Those mentioned are between the Second and Fourth Cataracts. Our discussion of specific, concrete evidence of early black civilization up to this

point has been confined to the Egyptian North. Most notable among the Neolithic finds in the South were the beautiful, highly burnished, black-topped and red pottery bowls, jars, etc. All pottery was artistically decorated in wavy ripples or squares. Their earliest writing was in pictures. So many hundreds of these rock "messages" were found along the Nile through Nubialand that one may well wonder if these prehistoric "historians" had posterity in mind. For while many of the pictures portrayed wildlife and other objects of interest in the environment, others went beyond this role of the artist and recorded such historic facts as the conquest of Northern Nubia by a Nubian Pharaoh of the Old Kingdom, Sneferu, in 2730 B.C.¹ This war left a vast wasteland and practically wiped out a civilization that had been developing before Neolithic times.

THE "CHILDREN OF THE SUN"

For one thing, the land to the south of Egypt had developed a strong economy that was continuously enriched by a thriving export trade in paper (from papyrus), ivory, gold, ebony, emeralds, copper, incense, ostrich feathers (always greatly in demand), and its famous decorated earthenware. A strong economy also meant a strong Ethiopian army that posed a threat even to an African-ruled Egypt. From the Egyptian viewpoint, the "Land of the Blacks" was a threefold threat. Historically the Blacks who had fled below the First Cataract to escape the various conquests never seemed to accept those conquests as final, and attempted to retake Egypt from time to time. (These repetitions are deliberate because nowhere in history is this very important fact clearly stated).

But it is clear that, having reconquered the Asian-dominated Lower Egypt, the black pharaohs sought integration with the Asians instead of driving them out of the country. This policy of moderation and accommodation was apparently anathema to the "extremist" Ethiopians—proud blacks for whom the prospects of having

1. There was a previous reference to Sneferu's "scorched earth" war in his own home to further illustrate the extreme Southern opposition to integration with the Asians even under Black kings.

their children come into the world with a color distinctly different from their own was at once an insult to the dignity of every African man, an insult to their watching ancestors, and an offense to the Gods themselves.

This attitude might also explain the hostility of the Southern Blacks towards the Afro-Asian. The latter were not "true" Africans because they were becoming Egyptians—a mixed breed of many races. They were, therefore, traitors in the eyes of "true" Africans whose badge of eternal honor was the blackness of their skin. This was color racism, deeply rooted, for it sprang from religion: They were "Children of the Sun" blessed with blackness by the Sun God himself and thus protected from his fiery rays. They were his children. Their very blackness, therefore, was religious, a blessing and an honor.

The second already stated threat was economic. Egypt's own flourishing export trade, both by sea and caravans, depended heavily on her imports from the South. To cut these off would mean economic panic in an otherwise prosperous land.

The third great fear concerned the mighty Nile river. Suppose the Ethiopians decided to bring Egypt to her knees and starve her to death by diverting the waters of the Nile? Belief in this possibility was ancient and ran deep.

The Egyptian conquest of Nubia, therefore, might remove the military and economic threats but, insofar as the Nile was concerned, it would settle nothing. Besides, these Blacks seemed to be unconquerable. A Sneferu might attempt total extermination of the population, burn every town and village, destroy farms and cattle and leave the land in utter ruin—yet as soon as the armies of destruction withdrew, the surviving Africans came out from their hiding places and began to rebuild once again.

Like Upper Egypt, this was a land of cities and towns, of temples and pyramids. Africans were the great pyramid builders, the temple builders. They had built the great pyramids of Egypt during their rule. So there was renewed activity in temple building after Nubia was reoccupied by the Eighteenth Dynasty rulers. All this renewed zeal in building new towns and temples in the South was reconstruction. The Old Kingdom raiders could not destroy all of the temples and other monuments.

The returning Egyptians, therefore, had found many fine tem-

ples still in use, others in ruins. All Ethiopian inscriptions on the temples and monuments were erased and Egyptian inscriptions substituted. Any outstanding African creations that could not be converted and claimed as the work of Egyptians were destroyed, for now "Egyptian" meant "white"—Asian or European. This was done "to promote national unity." Ethiopian inscriptions, of course, recorded victories over Egypt. The Arabs were to carry out the work of eradication in a far more thoroughgoing manner at a later time. All of the South was never completely conquered. The reconquest we are now discussing extended forty or fifty miles below Abu Hamed. History continued to repeat itself. Below the area of conquest the Africans continued to rebuild, reorganizing their fighting forces, and watching an overextended Egypt become weaker and weaker under weak pharaohs who were unable to cope with the interminable struggle for power among the Asians, Egyptians and other incursive groups. In these cycles of consolidation and then fragmentation into numerous chiefdoms and principalities, Egypt mirrored the results of the human power craze not only in Africa but generally throughout the world. Yet in the long view of her history, Egypt's overall record was one of consolidation and unity that was at times not seriously broken during a thousand years.

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Napata was a beautiful city that was favored by surroundings that helped to make it so. Located below the Fourth Cataract above the great curve where the Nile had turned southward and, as though changing its mind, turned north again. An imposing hill, the "Throne of the Sun God," was the site of temples. The city itself was regarded as the "Holy of Holies," the capital of what the Egyptians called "The Land of the Gods." But "Napata" referred not only to this central city but included what today we would call a metropolitan area that covered towns and villages for miles in all directions from the present-day town of Karima. It was to this area that African leaders, including priests of the various cults, retreated when things got too hot in Egypt. Here also, certain African kings preferred to stay even when their position and power in Egypt were unchallenged. Most of the royal burials

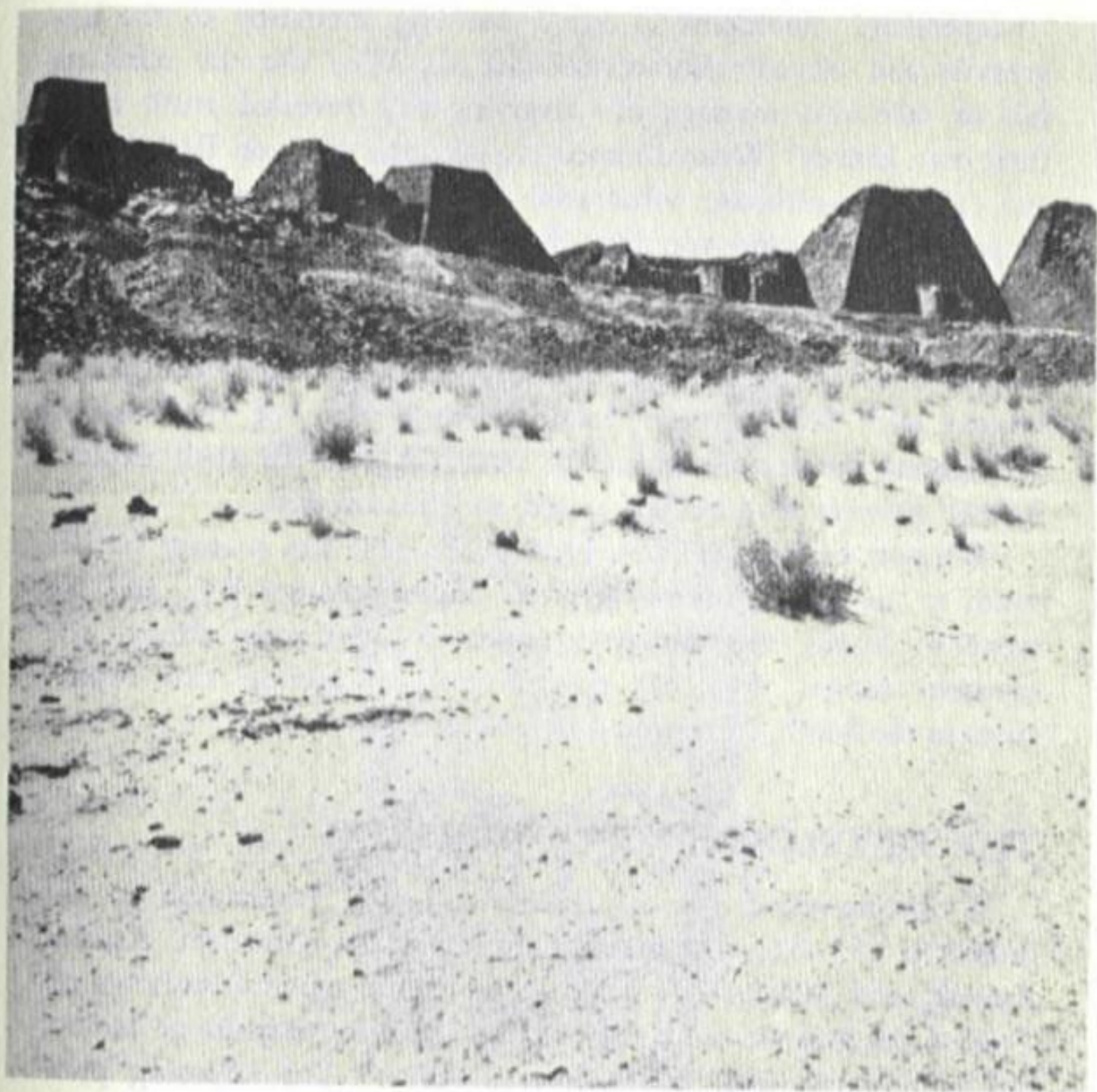
in pyramids were at Kurru. The largest pyramid in Ethiopia is that of King Taharqa at Nuri.

After the Assyrian-Greek invasion in 590 B.C., the city was almost completely destroyed again. The capital now moved on the other side of the river to the other historic industrial center at Meroe.

The Blacks apparently had been more concerned with the development of their copper industry than with iron. Iron ore in abundance was all around. Their failure to exploit it earlier, especially for military weapons, was the reason Assyrians with their superior iron weapons were able to sweep them out of Egypt and even invade the Heartland and destroy the Holy City of Napata. The Africans had long since learned the use of iron. They knew all about the smelting process. Why then did they allow the Assyrians to get ahead of them? Even granting that the ancients kept their military developments as secret as nations try to do today, it is also true that spies, including Africans, were active everywhere. The question is interesting because we are not discussing the period when the African had ultimately surrendered to despair and retrogression, but a period of African power, high civilization and a greatness that had the respect and fear of the ancient world. Even after the onslaught by the Assyrians and their allies, the Africans were to rebuild, from the new capital city of Meroe, a civilization greater than the one just destroyed.

There were many lesser states and countless small chiefdoms in the vast land mass that began where the effective control by Ethiopia ended.

Through all these milleniums of ups and downs, of trials and errors, of great victories and disasterous defeats—through it all, the central drive of this once all-Black land was in the direction of consolidation and progress. Tribes were united into one nation either voluntarily or, that failing, by force. Strong armies were maintained to protect and expand their civilization. The retaking of that part of the homeland that extended north along the Nile to the Mediterranean was at once the deathless dream, the impassioned goal, and the cornerstone of their foreign policy. So these Africans battled the invading Asians decade after decade and century after century until their resistance to conquest and enslavement extended over four thousand years.



Meroe, one of 25 Major Cities in the Heartland of Black Civilization where the first pyramids were built. Still standing after over 6,000 years. The Blacks carried these and other advanced ideas as they spread over Egypt, then Northern Ethiopia.

From ancient days, therefore, the Africans had had, in the very center of the heartland on the continent, a history from which their posterity could learn how unity alone provides the conditions for strength and progress, and that each one of a thousand little "independent" chiefdoms is but a standing invitation to the aggressors and ultimate domination for all. Why did the Africans fail to take this message of salvation as a revealed truth from their own history? What dimmed civilization's light on Barkal Hill and caused an ultimate withdrawal to the bush and the scattering of people hither and yon like hunted beasts? Why did Africans begin to retire from the race with other advancing peoples and fall so far behind that even the memory of former greatness could not inspire a revival because that memory had been almost completely blotted out? I have been detailing with some of the answers throughout the lecture series. In later chapters we shall explore further answers to questions raised and unanswered.

We now cross to the west bank of the Nile and journey farther south to the city of Meroe. It is the Eighth century B.C., and the move to Meroe was simply to move to what was already the southern capital, and that now, instead of having two capital cities in the South, there would be only one.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF WRITING

A distinguished line of leaders followed Tanutamoni to the throne in 653 B.C.—Atlanersa, Senkamanseken, Anlaman, Aspalta, Amtalka and Malenakan—palace, temple, and pyramid builders all. Two of the greatest temples were built by King Aspalta at Meroe: the Sun Temple and the Temple of Amon² The imposing pyramids and rows of huge royal statues added to the majesty and magnificence of Meroe. The royal tombs, as in Egypt, were the repositories of the nation's history. For it was from these tombs that archaeologists were able to determine a line of forty-one rulers after the conquest of Lower Nubia. These monuments were not only sources of early African history from within but, of the highest importance, they were elaborately decorated outside with both the

2. It is believed that the temple to Amon was not completed during Aspalta's lifetime but by his successors.



Sketch, based on detail of the statue of
Aspelta, king of Kush (593-568 B.C.), found
in the temple at Jebel Barkal in Kush.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

first form of writing, hieroglyphics, and the more advanced African inscriptions in their own invented writing.

For the Africans themselves had invented writing, and all attempts to connect this ancient achievement with Egyptian or Asiatic influence have failed. Here the "external influence" school has suffered a major defeat, because the written records found on statues, altars, tombstones, graffiti, etc., were so distinctly African that their native origin could not be successfully disputed. Moreover, the African system of writing was very different from the Egyptian. It was simpler and had vowels, whereas Egyptian had none. There were twenty-three characters or letters in the African alphabet—four vowel signs, seventeen consonants, and two signs of the syllable. New concepts and new or special words could be easily introduced by the old picture system. Clarity and easy reading was assured by measured spacing between words. There was developed a system of numerical symbols for mathematics. The African inscriptions on monuments and such records as those found in royal tombs are in a special category. General writing was done on tablets of wood and skins prepared for that purpose. Still other artifacts with ancient African writing were found on such things as rocks, walls, vases and broken bits and pieces of earthenware.

Again, how and why did all this disappear? How and why was it blotted out or hidden so completely for two thousand years that an ignorant world, with unprecedented research facilities in its universities, still believes, teaches and proclaims that the Black man never developed a civilization of his own?

It has been noted that the attractions of Ethiopia were great not only because the Egyptians regarded it as the main source of their religion—"The Land of the Gods"—but also because of its socio-political, economic and strategic importance. When African kings reconquered Egypt and became "Egyptian pharaohs, they still longed for the motherland to the south, desired to unite the whole of it with Egypt into one vast empire, often retired there, and some wanted their final resting place to be in a pyramid below the First Cataract. Here rested their ancestors whose company they were to join. Here was the capital city of both the Black man's world and that of his heaven as well—the Holy City of Napata.

So during the different periods in which Napata came under a foreign yoke the capital city of Meroe had to become somewhat

holy in its own right, and many of the kings, queens, and other leaders were buried in pyramids there. These were constructed of stone outside of the city proper, sometimes at a visible distance of two or more miles. They were built to stand forever, an attempt that stemmed from the African's *actual* belief in immortality. This is why their faith included the natural assumption that those who had passed on—their ancestors—were living in the "Great Beyond," and were, therefore, in the most favorable position to represent the interests of their kinsmen below; or, in short, to serve as mediators between God and man.

The pyramids ringing the city not only added to the physical beauty of the surroundings, but they were also the silent sentinels, the ever watchful ancestral presence from which might come either a benediction or a curse.

Earlier, you may recall, I was unsparing in my criticism of those African societies which seemed to be governed by fatalism and failed to counterattack against their enemies both natural and human. As I read the record, it seemed to me that these groups did not try to meet the awful challenges with which they were confronted, gave up too readily, refused to ignore tribal lines and unite for survival strategies, but scattered here and there like hunted animals—and into barbarism and savagery. Such were my strictures and, obviously, I did not give the whole story even about these groups.

Just now, however, and by a glorious contrast, we are in the midst of Blacks—the core group of all Africa—who met the challenge on all fronts and from every direction; and who fought on and on through the centuries against the forces of both man and nature until they were completely overwhelmed.

Three thousand years ago the desert, while slowly moving in on Africa, had not advanced where it is today. There was, therefore, more arable land in Ethiopia, although its agriculture did not match that of the rich delta region of Egypt. The Blacks were, however, mainly agriculturists like other Africans. Even with their remarkable industrial development, farming went on on both sides of the "two Niles" which met in their land before continuing as one great river through Egypt to the Mediterranean Sea. Nor should the importance of the Atbara river be overlooked. Even though the surrounding deserts were a problem in so far as agricultural expansion was desired, the more immediate problem was famine from drought.

There were years during which no rain fell at all and not a hopeful cloud appeared in the sky.

The Africans met the challenge by constructing a national system of reservoirs. These were strategically located around the capital, at Musawarat, Naga, Hordan, Umm, Usuda, in the Gezira region, at Duanib, Basa, and doubtlessly at other sites not yet excavated.

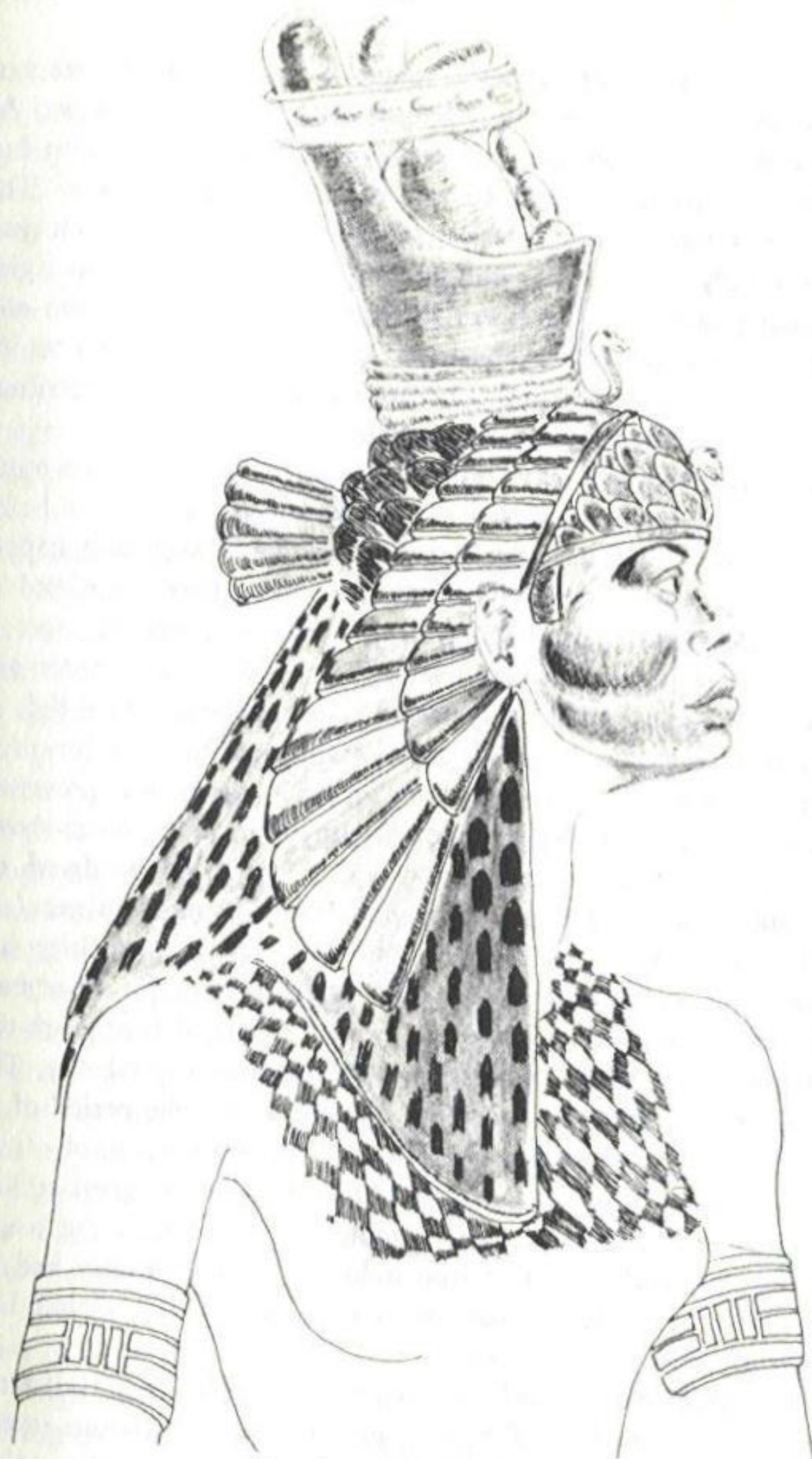
This master plan to defeat drought and famine—this system of reservoirs was more important than all of the architectural art that found expression in their beautiful statues, temples, palaces, columns and pyramids. The reservoirs were more significant than the monuments, important as these were in hiding the Black man's intellectual achievements in the invention of writing deep under the sands.

I rate the reservoirs as the supreme achievement because they reflect the real measure of African man as he met the challenge to survival head-on, with a constructive counter-attack against the adverse forces of earth, sun and sky. The irrigation system, made reasonably effective with their oxen-powered wheels, was a part of this challenge to adverse circumstances.

Piankhi, following Kashta in 720 B.C., began what was quickly to become again one of the greatest world powers of the time. For this time Ethiopia was united with Afro-Asian Egypt under a single imperial rule that extended from the Mediterranean in the north to an undefined boundary in the south. Also unknown is how far did its eastern boundary extend southward along the Indian Ocean coastland, how much of Uganda and Abyssinia was included, or how far westward did the empire extend.³ All this is not so important as the point that during this period of triumph, world fame—and fear—and unprecedented prosperity from a flourishing trade with about one-half of the world, for long periods African rulers continued to neglect the up-dating of their military and naval defenses.

Iron was the basis of the technological revolution in warfare. That the Assyrians, Hittites, Persians and other Asiatic nations were equipping their armies with new type iron weapons, and that these

3. This whole period of black achievements is minimized by writers who substitute Meroe, the city, for Ethiopia, the empire. Ethiopian writing then becomes "some Meroetic inscriptions," etc.



The Queen of Ethiopia at
Meroe, c. 4th century B.C.

were devastatingly more effective than stone and copper weapons had to be well-known to the Africans. And it was not news. As mentioned before, they not only knew about the uses of iron but they had long since developed the iron smelting processes. The trouble was the highly secretive royal monopoly. No secret was more zealously guarded than the smelting of iron. This meant rigidly limited production. Here was fear outmatching both reason and the most elementary common sense. This over-secretiveness which inhibited the expansion of iron production was to contribute mightily to the success of Assyrian arms over them.

Prosperity, too, may have blurred the African's vision. Too much success can be dangerous. In this case so much wealth was being piled up from foreign trade, especially in gold, ivory and copper that the question of iron, if raised, may have been dismissed as "economically unsound." Whatever the reasons were, the fact is that the great iron industries which developed in this center and spread over Africa could have started centuries before they did.

Even as early as 300 B.C. when iron smelting was for more useful purposes than ornaments, the royal monopoly still prevented widespread use. That they knew of the importance of iron is shown by the fact that kings and high priests were often heads of the guild, and the chief iron master might become Prime Minister (not an African title). But no matter about the delay, iron smelting and tool-making got underway on a vast scale in Ethiopia at a most crucial period for Africa. Its center was Meroe, and it appears that the biggest iron works were in and around this capital city. This development was at a crucial period because it was the period of increasing migrations from the heartland and the scattering of groups all over Africa. They carried their knowledge of this great technological revolution wherever they went, and they began the use of iron and the development of iron industries wherever they had the opportunity to settle in iron ore areas and remain settled long enough to create a stable society.

This spread of ironworking from the cradle of black civilization is just another example of how other fundamental African institutions spread over the continent, north as well as south, and remained basically unchanged down through the centuries, no matter how numerous were the groups into which the original society became fragmented or how countless were the various languages and dia-

lects that resulted from that segmentation. There were, as a matter of course, many variations and modifications by different survival groups. The most remarkable of the facts was that even those groups that were pushed back into a state of barbarism still held on, God only knows how, to some of the basic institutions of the society from which they descended from one to two thousand years before. Nor was either Christian Europe or Muslim Asia able to destroy those institutions completely even in the vast regions over which both had supreme control. And this is why, in a previous talk, I suggested a smile of compassion when you read or hear about "Egyptian influence" on this or that Black society because, in general, all that could possibly be meant is the "influence of early black civilization on subsequent black societies."

The expansion of the iron culture, however, was a revolution in technology that ushered in a new age and gave new hope to a despairing people. It meant the use of new instruments of production in agriculture, the industrial crafts and, of great importance for a refugee people, for a new kind of military organization and defense. It can be seen, then, that the "Motherland of the Blacks," centered on the Nile around the cataracts, provided her wandering sons and daughters with the instruments of survival—a knowledge that still served them well centuries after the Arabs and Turks had overrun that Motherland.

The memory of many things had been lost, however. Who remembered Thebes, Napata, Memphis, Elephantine, Hiercleopolis or Nekheb? Indeed, who remembered even Meroe, the most advanced center not only of the African iron age, but also of writing? And what of the other important towns and cities in Southern Ethiopia (Nubia-Cush)—Musawarat, Nuri, Panopolis, Kerma, Assuan, Soleb, Abu Simbel, Kurusku, Samnah, Philae, Kawa, Dongola, etc? Our constant references to Napata and Meroe might lead those who do not look at the map to think that there were only two important cities in the land.

Forgetting the names of ancient centers of importance was nothing compared to the tragedy of the Blacks in forgetting—almost completely forgetting—the very art of writing which they themselves invented! This was one of the most tragic losses, to repeat, that was ever suffered by a whole people. And in view of the anti-black course of subsequent history, the Blacks needed their written

language and records more than any people. Just how and why this people discontinued the use of writing has been set forth rather clearly and in some detail in foregoing pages. However, the matter is of such transcendent importance that I hope that some Black scholar will devote an entire book to detailing just this one episode in the long history of Africans. From long drawn-out situations and circumstances when writing was so needless as to be out of the question, to a general disuse for lack of need, to a general loss of the art itself—that is the story. I say "general loss" again because, of course, some African societies did not completely lose the art of writing even under conditions where its use seemed utterly futile.

The most important fact to keep in mind, however, is that we are considering the early age when relatively only a few people could write—a small professional class, the scribes. All books, scrolls, inscriptions, letters etc., were written by them. Therefore, in any society where the scribes were either captured or disappeared from if for whatever reason, the art of writing in that society died. In view of the developments in Black Africa, the disappearance of writing is not a mystery at all.

Conquest and domination tended to check migrations and bring a larger measure of iron rule stability in the invaded regions. An integral part of that iron rule was the introduction of the conquerors' speech and writing—the first step in the process of conquering both the soul and minds of the Blacks along with their bodies. This was easy because the knowledge-starved "key people" among the Blacks eagerly grasped Arabic, French, Portuguese, English, or German as the best route to status in a new civilization. Most of this developed later than the period we have been summarizing: The thousand years in Ethiopia after its last success in retaking Egypt and its defeat and withdrawal with the fall of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty; that is, the period from the Sixth century B.C. to the Fourth century of the Christian church in Ethiopia.

CHRISTIAN AFRICA

Africa was naturally among the first areas to which Christianity spread. It was next door to Palestine, and from the earliest times there had been the closest relations between the Jews and the Blacks, both friendly and hostile. The exchange of pre-Christian religious concepts took place easily and, due to the residence of so many ancient Jewish leaders in Ethiopia, almost naturally—Abraham, Joseph and brothers, Joseph, Mary and Jesus and, of course, the great Lawgiver, Moses, who was not only born in Africa but married the daughter of an African priest.⁴ The pathway for the early Christian church in the Land of the Blacks had been made smooth many centuries before.

In a different work I suggested that a major reason why so many later Christian missionaries failed in Africa was because they were bringing refurbished religious doctrines that came from Africa in the first place. The religious belief in sacrifice for the remission of sins was an African belief and practice at least 2,000 years before Abraham. The results of a comparative study of the African, Jewish and Christian religions have amazed many who have undertaken the task. Practically all of the Ten Commandments were embedded in the African Constitution ages before Moses went up Mt. Sinai in Africa in 1491 B.C.—a rather late date in African history.

We do not know how much significance should be read into the fact that Christianity began to spread in Ethiopia (Nubia or Cush) only after the destruction of the central Empire with the fall of Meroe. However, the most important development after the Empire passed was not the rise of Christianity, but the rise of the two black states that picked up the mantle and staff of Ethiopia to carry on. These two states were Makuria and Alwa.

4. Many accounts refer only to his marriage to the daughter of a Midianite priest. However, Aaron and his wife rebuked Moses for marrying a Black woman.

CHAPTER V

The Two That Carried on

FROM THE EARLY AFRICAN VIEWPOINT THERE WAS nothing earth-shaking or extraordinary about the establishment of still another cult, the cult of Christian churches. The only unusual thing about the new cults of Christians was that while they disclaimed being of the Jewish faith, they worshipped the Jewish tribal god—the God of Israel. The Christians seemed to be expanding the role of a god who had been concerned only with the Jews as his "Chosen People" to a God of the Universe, and thus competing with the African God of the Universe—the Sun God. The Christians were not really different even in the central religious beliefs of the African and Jews of the period in sacrificing sheep, goats, bulls, (and sometimes humans) for the remission of sins. For while the Christians had given up the slaughtering of animals for offerings, the very cornerstone of their faith was that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was sacrificed for the sins of man and that his blood was shed for this purpose alone. Drinking of the blood (wine) and eating of the body (bread) are all fundamental aspects of man's most ancient religion.

The spread of Christianity in the land below the First Cataract gained momentum after the destruction of Ethiopia as an empire, including its world-famous capital, the city of Meroe. Such a decline and fall of a nation, empire or civilization is never as short or sudden as a date given for the event suggested—in this case 350 (A.D.). Many factors and forces operated over a long period of

time before what can be called the "Great Age of Black Civilization" came to a close.

How the Black world was being adversely affected by both Asia and Europe may be better understood by a flashback to events following the end of Black rule over Egypt with the close of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty in 656 B.C. The victorious Assyrians, you may recall, made Necho, a king from Sais in Lower Egypt, the governor-general, supported by Assyrian garrisons. This Necho was an Asian, but by this time the practice of calling all non-African residents Egyptians had been firmly established so long that it had the weight of customary law. The Afro-Asians had failed to win recognition as the only Egyptians. Whites of all nationalities, though a minority, were often the dominant groups, ruling from their power base in Lower Egypt. Hence the continuing crises between the white Egyptians and the now more populous "colored" Egyptians.¹ The Black Egyptians no longer counted as a power group north of the First Cataract.

So when the Assyrians were finally expelled during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (664-525 B.C.), the foundations for permanent white European-Asian rule in Egypt had been firmly laid. From this period on the wars for the control of Egypt were primarily wars of whites against whites. The internal corruption, jockeying for position by the various partisan groups reflected the weakness of the country in employing more and more foreign mercenary troops, especially Greeks. The larger and larger incursions of Greeks and their allies formed the same kind of advance base for a future Greek hegemony as did previous Asiatic peoples. The time was not yet. But it was the opportune time for the Persians to invade this much-invaded land and begin a rule in 525 B.C., that was to last 121 years. Since the administration of a conquered country by absentee kings is generally weak and open to revolt, the very long Persian rule in Egypt was doubtless due to an extraordinary line of strong kings and imperial administrators—Camby-ses, Darius the Great and Darius II.

1. The same development is now taking place in South Africa where the "Coloureds," once fanatically devoted to the whites, are now bitterly resentful because their privileged status *vis-a-vis* the Blacks is being steadily reduced.

The end of Persian rule came in 404 when the Egyptian Greeks joined with the Egyptian nationalists in a "War of Liberation." The victory was shortlived. The Egyptians were in power only five years before the rebellion and independence were broken and Persian rule reestablished for another 64 years.

In 332 Alexander the Great arrived and, having broken the imperial power of Persia elsewhere, had no trouble taking over Egypt. A Greek was crowned Pharaoh in 334 B.C., as Ptolemy I.

The Greeks ruled Egypt for almost 300 years before the expansion of the Roman Empire into Egypt ended their dominion in 30 B.C. This was our "flashback" point of departure, but before returning to the Ethiopian churches, the significance of what we have been reviewing as flashbacks should again be emphasized as a Great Issue. For we have been reviewing the last phrases of the processes of Caucasianization in Egypt that were so thoroughgoing that both the Blacks and their history were erased from memory: The Jewish rule, 500 years; the Assyrian interludes; the Persians, 185 years; the Greeks, 274 years; the Romans, 700 years; the Arabs, 1,327 years—the long, long struggle to take from the Blacks whatever they had of human worth; their land and all the wealth therein; their bodies, their souls, and their minds—a process of steady depersonalization, dehumanization.

Yet Greece and Rome, having made the exclusion of the Blacks from Egypt permanent, appeared to have no conquest ambitions in the Black country to the south. And *Pax Romana* checked the constant warfare between the two regions. The great wealth-producing trade with Ethiopia was promoted and what appeared to be a general *detente* prevailed. Indeed, whoever held the sea-coasts, whether Asian, European or Egyptian, controlled world trade and put Ethiopia in a state of economic dependence, no matter how vast the flow of goods was from the South. Egypt was the middleman with the greater control over both volume and prices. Both the Greeks and Roman rulers of Egypt left Ethiopia to play its own role. And we have seen what that role was during a thousand years of unbroken progress directed from Meroe.

THE SEMITIC STORM FROM AXUM

Yet a storm cloud was threatening farther south as the Roman Legions withdrew from Egypt to help check the erosion of an over-extended world empire. We have noted that the Ethiopian empire at the height of its greatness extended southward into Abyssinia (present-day Ethiopia) and further, that as time passed, the Blacks were being hemmed in from almost all directions essential for survival. Now, for some centuries Arabs and Jews (the latter called "Solomonids" by most historians) had been swarming into this southeastern region, pushing through the middle in such a way that even in Abyssinia the Blacks were pressed southward, always southward! Egyptian history was repeating itself: The Asians and Mulattoes held Northern Abyssinia, with the center of power in the strategic kingdom of Axum. From Axum the Arabs prepared their forces for the destruction of a now-weakening Ethiopian empire. The weakness, as usual, came from separatist movements struggling for power. It was the old-time factional fights among leaders who felt they must "rule or ruin"—a drive so well known that it is needless to recount. But it was the situation for which the Axumite Arabs and their Coloured and Jewish allies were waiting. So in 350 A.D., their armies destroyed Meroe, and an epoch in history ended.

Ethiopia was now split into three major states: Nobadae, bordering Egypt at the First Cataract; Makuria, the more powerful kingdom in the middle with its capital at Dongola; and Alwa, another strong state south of Makuria or between Makuria and Axum. After the collapse of the central Black empire in the Fourth century the Christian churches spread more rapidly through the now independent kingdoms. Even in the division of Ethiopia into smaller states, the process of ethnic transformation was obvious as it pressed southward from Egypt. Greek and Roman presence had been heavy and marked in Nobadae. Since no one now questioned that Nobadae (Nubia) was Ethiopian, the mixed breed could not be called Egyptian as was the case above the First Cataract. The population in this kingdom bordering Caucasianized Egypt was now also predominantly Afro-European and Afro-Asian. The problem was solved very neatly by calling them the "Red

Noba" and the Africans were called "Black Noba." The other two kingdoms were all-black and presented no classification problems.

The churches seemed to be more firmly rooted in Alwa and Makuria. Churches seemed to be everywhere. There were several in every large town, one in just about every small village, some in rural areas away from villages, and churches scattered over large urban centers, along with those of greater splendor in the "Cathedral Cities," the seats of bishops. White administration and control of African Christianity was assured by establishing the head of the Church in Lower Egypt (the Patriarch of Alexandria) with power to appoint all bishops in Africa. The bishops appointed were always white or near-white until token appointments of Blacks to lesser posts, such as deacons, had to be made following protests by Black church leaders, supported by their kings. And while the "Red Men" of Nobadae, caught in the middle, tended to identify with the Blacks of Makuria and Alwa, the split between the Western and Eastern churches over doctrine was reflected in the three Ethiopian kingdoms. This meant that the religious strife tended to alienate Monophysite Nobadae for Orthodox Makuria. This competition for ascendancy may have had a great deal to do with expansion of churches in Egypt and the former Ethiopian empire in the South.

THE GROWTH OF STATES

These Southern kingdoms also carried on much of the old Ethiopian tradition of rapid reconstruction after destruction, continued the expansion of caravan routes for external trade across the Sahara to the Western Black world to offset the Egyptian sea-coast monopoly, replacement of vast temple-building programs with equally vast church-building programs, and the continued development of iron industries and better equipped armies. Egyptian, Asian, Greek and Roman influence was as marked on African institutions in Nobadae as it was on the complexion of most of the people living in this fringe kingdom. Nobadae, then, is a classic example of external influence on African institutions just as Egypt had become. It is an influence that could be praised to high heaven as the eclectic process of civilization itself had not the Caucasians resorted to thefts and lies in their vain and ignoble

attempts to preempt the whole field of human progress as being theirs and theirs alone.

In the Fourth century A.D., the areas of Black Power had been pushed out of Egypt down where the kingdom of Makuria formed its borders with Nobadae. Here the concentration of Blacks began, just as though a southward movement of the race was a decree of Providence. Here, once again, they took their stand; here again, even in the lands which were officially Christian, Black battle lines had to be formed again for defense. The Axumite Coloured "Solomonids" and Arabs had retired after the destruction of the Black empire. The more immediate danger was still Egypt. This was true also from the viewpoint of Christianity, for "white" Egyptian control over the churches reflected the same policies that were to follow through the centuries into our own times: No church sponsored theological schools for the training of African clergy. By thus preventing educational opportunities, they could always maintain that the Blacks were simply "not qualified" for this or that high post. In religion, as in every other field, the system deliberately prevented qualification in order to declare the lack of qualification on the part of Blacks in all regions under white control or in all institutions—in this case the Church—over which White Power prevailed. There were no situations, however, in which some Blacks did not override all obstacles and become bishops in either all-Black or predominantly Black countries.

In discussing mass migration from Egypt, I hope no one has forgotten the countless thousands of Blacks left behind there, in both Upper and Lower, not only then but they are there today also—a submerged group. That there were exceptions to this general status has also been emphasized. The people who accept a slave or inferior status in the society as their lot were the kind Aristotle had in mind when he referred to men who were born to be slaves; on the other hand, those Blacks who migrated or fought to the death rather than accept slavery were those who were born to be free—the most important point missed by many quoting this most-quoted passage from Aristotle.

It was these born-to-be-free Blacks who, as we have seen, not only beat back the enslaving invaders over and over again, but just as many times either conquered their would-be-enslavers or drove them back into Asia. The fall of the Black empire did not

mean that the Blacks had surrendered. The fragmented kingdoms were still to carry the fight to the enemy, and they were still to fight their way again all the way across Egypt as far as where their ancient city of Memphis once stood. Still others remained in the conquered regions simply because they refused to leave their ancestral homes, come what may.

By the Seventh century the Blacks had achieved a major goal by incorporating Nobadae with Makuria and thus reestablishing what had become the recognized boundary between Ethiopia and Egypt at the First Cataract. The precise manner of this amazing achievement is unknown: Did the "Black Noba" of Makuria overrun the "Red Noba" of Nobadae, or was it a union of kingdoms by agreement? We do not know. What we do know is that the Blacks' kingdoms of Alwa and Makuria were stronger than ever since the fall of Napata and Meroe.

A "DECISIVE BATTLE OF HISTORY"

Egypt, on the other hand, was undergoing one of her periodic convulsions from an invasion—the most fateful one to which we have already referred: The Muslim invasion of 639-42 A.D. This conquest, as was usually the case, had been made easier by still another Persian invasion (619-629 A.D.). Some sources suggest that the new wave of Persian invasions that began in 619 A.D., determined the course of the Blacks in conquering Nobadae and reestablishing their frontier at the great system of fortifications at the First Cataract. From there the Blacks had been raiding various areas in Egypt and attacking garrisons throughout the ten years of the last Persian occupation. In this and other similar instances, the picture that emerges clearly is that the Blacks, even after being pushed out of Egypt were more upset by foreign invasions and resisted them more courageously than the "new" Egyptians who, by comparison, appeared to be an easily conquered and rather cowardly lot. Otherwise, how could Amr ibn-al-As, the Muslim general, conquer all Egypt so easily with only 4,000 men? The conquering Arab general apparently knew the difference between the fighting qualities of the Blacks in the south and those of the Egyptians and their mercenary troops; for despite the continued



A "Decisive Battle of History:" African Army under command of Kalydosos, King of Makuria, destroys invading Arab forces at the Battle of the Makurian Plains. Result: Halted Arab invasions from the north for 600 years.

raids by the Blacks, he chose not to extend his operations into their land.

But not so disposed was Abdullah, the new Arab governor-general (viceroy) of Egypt. The year following the complete take-over by the Muslims, 643 A.D., he decided to bring the whole Heartland of the Blacks under Muslim control at once. He knew, however, that this would really be a war, not like the easy conquest of Egypt with an army of only 4,000 men. So with a larger and better equipped army, the Arab expedition invaded the Black country with a confidence that was heightened by what appeared to be hasty and confused retreats by frightened warriors. This Ethiopian strategy of pretended fright and wild retreat was so well known in Egypt that it is difficult to understand how it could have been unknown to Abdullah and his generals. Or had this too, like everything else that was African, been blotted from memory? If so, for once they were going to pay dearly for ignoring an African invention.

For they were allowed to advance deeply into Black territory before 100,000 "retreating" and "frightened" Blacks turned in frontal and flanking onslaughts that almost completely wiped out the entire Arab army. An Arab historian of the period felt compelled to admit that it was the most devastating defeat ever suffered by an Arab army. There were other eye-witness reports from the scene of battle dealing with the remarkable training and dashing courage of the Black forces with the King of Makuria in personal command. (Those were the days when "king" meant leader. The leader led from the front, and not from some hill miles away from the fighting). This immediate presence of their leader in the midst of danger with them may have had much to do with the courage and expertise of the African soldiers. The units that amazed the ancient world that memorable day between the First and Second Cataracts were the bow and arrow corps. These were so skillfully trained that they could aim their arrows at the eyes of the enemy and shoot with unbelievable accuracy.

For reasons which by now must be obvious, this battle not only does not appear as "one of the decisive battles of history" in any of your history books, but it is not even mentioned. Yet it was in fact one of the decisive battles of the world: The defeat of the hitherto undefeated Arab forces was so disastrous that it

took them eight years to recover, reorganize, and regain the necessary courage to attack the Blacks again and thereby avenge that awful defeat and almost-annihilation on the plains of Makuria in 643. This African victory, furthermore, delayed the Arab conquests in the Black South and spurred the development of subsequent events in both of the southern kingdoms.

In 651 the Arab viceroy of Egypt decided that he had the unbeatable armed might and was ready to avenge the disaster of eight years before and bring the Blacks to their knees in the process. The Arab generals proceeded boldly but cautiously in order to avoid the traps and surprise tactics of the Black generals—considerations which arrogance probably caused them to ignore before. Yet the same African strategy was used: They were allowed to invade the Nobadaen state in depth with only "token" opposition. Hell broke loose only when they crossed the former Makurian border (before the union of the two kingdoms) and headed for the capital city of Dongola. However, the Arabs captured it, and destroyed all of the principal public buildings, including the great cathedral. They had brought along huge catapults for the express purpose of razing all brick and stone edifices that were the pride and glory of Black civilization. With the fall of their capital city, the seat of government, the Blacks were expected to surrender. But King Kalydosos, the African leader and his generals had no thought about surrendering or any doubt that they could defeat the Arabs again. The spirit of their decisive victory over the Arabs in 643 still fired the Black armies. So the King withdrew from his burning capital only to regroup and plan strategies for a "no-surrender" war. As the fighting continued with increased fury on both sides, it became clear to the Arab generals that victory over the Blacks could never be won on the field of battle. Again, their previous defeat by the Blacks was still playing a determining role in Arab-African relations.

So an armistice was declared, and a treaty of peace was signed by the now undefeated equals, Abdullah for Muslim Egypt and Kalydosos for the Christian kingdoms of Ethiopia—Makuria and Alwa. The Arabs had in fact lost the war. For with carefully trained and overwhelming forces filled with vengeance for the previous disaster, they were still unable to defeat the Blacks and bring their country under Muslim control. The historic significance

it twofold: (1) The psychological effects of being defeated by the Blacks twice on broad national fronts caused the Arabs to adopt a peaceful relationship with these countries that lasted 600 years. (2) The treaty included provisions that were the basis for the expansion of slavery and the "peaceful" conquest of the Sudan. Goals which could not be achieved directly on the battlefield were to be achieved indirectly by Arab traders and Muslim missionary brotherhoods.

In a previous discussion, I wondered out loud whether the Black race is lacking in one quality that seems to distinguish Caucasians and explain the reason for their long domination of the earth: Their deep concern about *their* posterity, the future role and welfare of their white offsprings to the farthest unborn generation. Their plans and policies for today's world are often based on expected outcomes centuries hence. The Blacks as a race, on the other hand, have been so split up and preoccupied with current problems that they seem to have lost this deep concern about the future of their descendents. This matter calls for serious reflection particularly on the part of Blacks in their relations with long-range planning whites. For from the earliest times and in almost every period of history, we find the whites carefully developing plans for future results none expect to see realized in their lifetime.

And so it was here in the Sudan in 652 A.D., when the peace treaty between Arabs and Blacks was signed. First of all, the Arabs had to make their failure appear to the world as a victory of some sort. So the conquerors' *Baqt* was an important provision in the treaty—an annual tribute to be paid to them. The terms called for the delivery of 360 slaves near the frontier annually, and forty extra slaves as a gift to the Egyptian viceroy.² In order to induce the Ethiopians to accept what at first appeared to be a tribute in fact, the Arab leaders presented it as a treaty of trade and commerce, agreeing to pay in exchange wheat, barley and wine at a value in excess of the gifts by the Africans.

More important than this, however, was the provision for building a great mosque in the restored Dongola and allowing

2. A "slave" was a captured prisoner of war, and in early history, the term was no more degrading than that of prisoner of war today.

Arab traders in only as traders, not settlers. Since it was a treaty "between equals," the provisions of the treaty were reciprocal: Black traders could operate in Egypt and have a church on the same terms. Even if the Africans had not known that the Arabs in Egypt were busily converting churches and temples into Muslim mosques, there would still be no occasion for building a church for their traders in Egypt. They had no long-range plans for the eventual control of Egypt through the trade and religion routes. But the Arabs did have such a plan for the eventual conquest of the Sudan through mosques and traders. The Caucasians, unable to conquer the Blacks directly, were contented when they had set in motion the process of gradual infiltration and expansion that would eventuate in victory even though it was to take 600 years.

And I am saying that the Blacks seem not only to have lost the grand vision of the future, but also what should have been the unforgettable lessons of their past. The pattern of Caucasian conquest had been cut out and made clear through thirty-seven centuries of their history. After they had allowed the Asians first to infiltrate and then to overrun all Lower Egypt, the Blacks drew a firm boundary line between the Two Lands beyond which the whites were not allowed to settle. Those were the days when the Africans were not so trusting that they were unable to perceive that the Caucasians are eternally restless unless they are the masters in every situation whatsoever. They were therefore barred from settlement in Black Upper Egypt until Narmer and Menes united the Lower and Upper Egypts. If there ever was a Pyrrhic victory in history it could not have been more disasterous than that of Menes over the Asians in 3100 B.C., for the decline of Black civilization not only in Egypt but throughout Africa can be traced to that period despite all of its monumental achievements afterwards. The termites of its destruction, slow but steady, had been let in under the laudable dream of black-white brotherhood. The long, drawn-out process of penetration and eventual domination was both visible and invisible. Yet from these tiny footholds the Asian population grew and grew until the Blacks were not only outnumbered by Asians but also overwhelmed. Substantially the same scheme was followed in every Black city, town and village throughout Egypt.

The record of the 5,000 years that ended with the European

conquest of the whole continent in the nineteenth century shows that every African state remained relatively secure and independent as long as it maintained a strict policy of excluding foreigners from settlement within its borders; and that same record makes clear that wherever this policy was abandoned and whites were admitted under any pretext whatsoever, the eventual doom of that state was certain. The single point that is being made in all this is that King Kalydosos and the other Black leaders already had, as early as 652 A.D., thirty-seven centuries of this record before them when they allowed the Arabs to establish a permanent base of operations in their land. They ignored the record, as other Black leaders were to continue to do until Muslim Asia and Christian Europe swept the continent and left the whole Black world prostrate at their feet.

In the seventh century this tragic outcome was still far away. The fall of Meroe and the break-up of the Ethiopian empire into kingdoms did not check the flowering of Black civilization in these states. Indeed, Makuria and Alwa seemed determined not only to maintain the ancient tradition of progress, but to overcome the imperial breakdown by pushing forward more aggressively than ever on all fronts. The 600-year *detente* with the Arabs in Egypt was a period of such reconstruction and progress that the criticism made regarding the leadership above would seem to be unjustified unless viewed from the long backward perspective of history. Even church and cathedral building expanded from this center of Black culture over the Western regions of Chad and adjoining states. The limited excavations have revealed this much. Future archaeological work may reveal whether the Ethiopian empire in its heyday extended westward to the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Guinea. It was a great surprise recently to find buried structures in the Chad region similar to those in the heart of the Empire along the Nile.

BLACK MAKURIA

Between 700 and 1200 A.D., Makuria was more empire than kingdom. It was organized into thirteen major states with a subking over each and the "King of Kings" over all. The traditional African Council was the final authority no matter how powerful the king might seem to be. The great and colorful parasol of the "King

of Kings" had to be wider than those of the divisional kings and theirs were larger than any lesser officials.

Cyriacus was "King of Kings" in 745 when Omar, the governor of Egypt stepped up the persecution of Christians in Egypt in what amounted to a Muslim Holy War, destroying churches or converting them into mosques and even putting the Patriarch in prison. Since the Patriarch in Egypt was the head of all Christian churches in Africa, the Africans regarded this latest onslaught against the churches as an insult as well as a breach of the peace treaty, now almost a hundred years old. Strangely, the Muslims made Lower Egypt the area of greatest church destruction. When the arrogant Omar ignored all protests and pleas, the African king headed an army of 100,000 men and marched on the Arab center of power in Lower Egypt. The governor of Egypt quickly freed the Patriarch and promised to leave the Christians and their churches alone. Cyriacus accepted these assurances and withdrew his army from Egypt.

It was during this period that an extensive body of church literature developed in the African language and the remarkable pottery industries were expanded; painting, like writing, was stimulated by the Church, just as had been the case in temple art. Mining was a principal source of wealth, but agriculture was the basic national activity and there is evidence of the people's battles with the encroaching deserts. They followed the system of the "Mother Empire" and overcame certain arid areas by developing the system of terrace farming that was irrigated by water wheels constructed for high places. They were successful enough to produce a surplus of agricultural commodities for export trade. Cotton had been produced from ancient times, and cloth making and other weaving arts were among the oldest crafts. That glass was made is certain, but the extent of this enterprise is not indicated by the archaeological findings.

The reports of Arab scholars on the cities of the Blacks during these early centuries are significant for two important reasons. The first is that, like the European explorers, "geographers" and others referred to earlier, they were not concerned with writing African history and nothing could have been farther from their intentions than glorifying the achievements of the Blacks. But their mission was to make factual reports on the conditions and exploitable pos-

sibilities of Africa to their home countries. Such reports would be the basis for future penetration, exploitation and conquest.

The second highly significant fact about the accounts of Abu Salih, Ibn Salim and other scholars between the Seventh and Fifteenth centuries A.D., is that, unlike the case of Egypt, none questioned either the greatness or the origin of this Black civilization. It was so clearly all-African that it did not seem to occur to these Arab writers that any other position was tenable. Those familiar with the traditional African religion might question whether Christianity was in fact external to Africa. In any case, the beautiful churches they saw spread over the "Land of the Black Gods" had become almost completely Africanized for those gods.

The prosperity the Arab visitors reported—the magnificent stone and brick palaces, temples, churches, cathedrals, wide avenues lined with palm trees, government buildings, public baths, water supply systems, beautiful gardens, countless craft industries, huge farms with extensive pastures where camels, horses, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, and pigs could be seen grazing lazily—all this was reported as messages with an unwritten message: Such is this Black Paradise, Brothers of Islam. Come!

The prosperity in this center of the Black world represented one of the last great epochs in the history of the Blacks. If near the final, it was also one of their finest hours on the stage of human progress. Here the measure of a people's genius could be taken without speculation. Here the message of who Blacks are was wrought in stone and iron for the succeeding generations of Blacks who were to lose their very identity in the blood and tears of unbroken oppression.

The Arab scholars were properly amazed at a way of life so superior to that in their own homeland. It was something to be amazed about. For there were not only public baths but public latrines, drainage and central water systems. But the most remarkable evidence of prosperity and progress was reflected in the advanced standard of living among the masses. The massive brick-making industry had led to homes of brick and stone in cities, towns and villages—brick houses, and larger houses for the great common people. In the Eighth century this was something for the visiting Arab scholars to write home about (it would be something to write about anywhere in this last part of the Twentieth century).

THE ARAB HORDES

However, they really did not need to report all this, so well was it already generally known. The treaty barring Arab settlement in the all-Black countries had been ignored almost from the beginning, and certainly treated as non-existing after the death of Kalydosos. The Arabs came in steady streams year after year, but in an inch-by-inch system over widely scattered areas that appeared not to cause immediate concern. But they came in unchecked and alarming waves when the great schisms in Islam led to bloody wars in the Arab world. The character of the refugee movements out of Arabia and other Arab centers of power depended upon what sect had captured the Caliphate. Let the record show, therefore, that all the Arabs that swarmed into Africa across the Red Sea and Indian Ocean were not bent on either conquest or domination. Countless thousands were fleeing there for refuge—fleeing for their very lives. Once settled there, however, they formed the ever-increasing population base for the Muslim leaders whose aim was to establish Islamic rule over the whole Black world.

They were to follow the Christian strategy of concentrating on the conversion of African kings and leaders in the belief that as the king goes, so goes the nation—a theory that did not work in Africa, except in a superficial way for expediency. However, the Black kings were already dropping their African names for "Christian" names—the first step towards self-effacement.

So as early as the Ninth century, (831 A.D.), King Zakaria, alarmed at great incursions of Arabs into the Sudan, sent a delegation headed by his nephew (heir to the throne) to the Caliph at Bagdad, asking that the Treaty of 652 be respected and Arab migrations halted. This meant that a weak Black king now held the destiny of the race in his hands. That he was so naive as to suppose that the Caliph could stop the Arab hordes even if he desired to do so was itself a sign of incompetence.

The highest ranking of the thirteen kings under the "King of Kings" was the Eparch of Faris, Lord of the Mountain. He was the commander of the frontier forces at the Egyptian border and his special mission was to bar Arab migration and settlement in the Land of the Blacks. Only the limited number of traders were permitted to pass and the time limit for their stay was fixed. The

Eparch, therefore, had indeed been the most important official next to the "King of Kings," for he was directly responsible for the security and independence of the nation. Under strong kings and strong eparchs the mission was carried out and Arab incursions southward were checked.³ That was now long ago. The Arabs had been passing the Lord of the Mountain and his garrisons for so many decades that by the Ninth century Arabic was being generally spoken below the First Cataract.

HOW SLAVERY CAME TO BE CONFINED TO BLACKS ALONE

In the latter part of the Thirteenth century David, King of Makuria, seeing no other way to forestall Arab occupation of his country, stepped up his raids in Upper Egypt. The raids were easier to carry out because of the chaos that followed the triumphs of the Mamelukes in Egypt. But in 1272 the Blacks, in what I have attacked as the pattern of their own self-destruction, made the first major step to that end. The usual impatience of heirs to the throne in achieving that goal soon enough found full expression in Shakandu, the King's nephew. He hastened to the Sultan of Egypt to secure an alliance and invasion of his country that would assure his ascendancy to the throne. The Sultan had every reason to grasp this wonderful opportunity handed to him by Blacks themselves—not only to even scores with them, but also to create more certain conditions for Mameluke hegemony over their land. Moreover, the African king had not only been raiding Egypt with impunity, but he had denounced the Treaty of 652 and refused to pay the *Baqt*. Sultan Baibars, therefore, did not hesitate. He organized a strong invading expedition with Shakandu at its head and entered the Black Land. The struggle was long and bitter, as the Sultan's strategy in using his Black army, along with Shakandu's own followers, made it appear to be civil war between Blacks. In the end the Sultan won through the Black heir to the throne, and allowed him to be crowned king as his protege.

3. Because of the repeated emphasis on the fact, it should be quite clear now that reference to Egyptian, Asian or Arab invasions always include Black slave armies as well as Mulattoes classified as "white."

The dismemberment of the Black kingdoms in the Sudan had begun. Now a rival tribute was exacted and almost doubled without any pretense of being an agreement of mutual exchange. The tribute exacted was harsh and the Blacks were promised nothing. The kingdom was then divided into two parts, the Sultan taking the northern region as his personal fief. Muslim rule now extended over Egypt and into the Sudan. The pattern was set that was to continue into our times and probably beyond: The Arabs in the Northern Sudan, while the Blacks were pressured into smaller and smaller areas in the Southern Sudan.

Once again, learning nothing from even just yesterday, the Black leadership paved the way for further Arab advances into their country. For the Blacks' struggle for personal power and, above all, their own personal security and welfare, were neither concerned about the future of their people nor their welfare in the living present. They were quite willing and ready to welcome the Arabs and to surrender their people to them in exchange for "high" office and limited consideration. The days of the Black immortals seemed to have passed forever. Mental pygmies again occupied the throne once held by Menes, Piankhi, Shabaka, and Kalydosos.

So in 1304 still another self-seeking Black leader journeyed to Cairo to have himself crowned as the servant-king of the Blacks by the Sultan al Nasir. The Sultan sent an expedition to Dongola—which was easy to do now—and his new servant was crowned as King Amai.

It should be noted here that the Mameluke rulers' effective power was confined to Lower Egypt and that independent Arab tribes, of which the Bani Kanz was the most powerful, held all Upper Egypt. They were only nominally under the sultans. In order to put an end to the endless coups and counter-coups among the Blacks, the decision was reached to overwhelm the South with united armies from both Upper and Lower Egypt and step-up the Islamization of the Blacks, putting Muslim kings on the throne.

In 1316 the objectives were realized when Dongola was again razed for the fifth time and Kerembes, the last black Christian king, was put to flight. A Black Muslim, Abdullah, was made king temporarily while awaiting the pleasure, not of the Sultan, but of the powerful Chief Kanz ad-Dawlah of the Bani Kanz Arab tribe. His pleasure was to put the Black Muslim king to death and as-

sume the kingship over the Blacks himself. Over the Blacks? This statement is misleading. This was no longer the Land of the Blacks. White and Colored Arabs now constituted the majority. Without this population base, the triumph of the Arabs in the Sudan could not have happened.

Yet the Arab chieftain's rule as king was short-lived because the Mameluke rulers played one group off against the other in an effort to defeat Arab objectives in one way or another. For one thing, they had been unable to break the autonomy of the Arab tribes in Upper Egypt, and these tribes were spreading over the Sudan and setting up their own kings there. This was a further challenge to Mameluke rule in Egypt. Who, then, were the Mamelukes?

The Mamelukes were the whites who had been enslaved by the Arabs in their wild and amazing sweep out of their desert homeland to conquer all adjacent countries and establish a world empire with a speed that shocked the world. Theirs was the original *blitz*. The enslavement of prisoners of war—which was the way general slavery began—was the order of the day. Race had no bearing on the matter then. Whites, blacks, browns, or yellows—all were made slaves if captured. The Arabs also made a practice of creating strong slave armies. The white slave armies were the Mamelukes. These, when stationed in Egypt, revolted, overthrew the government, and established their own line of ruling sultans. For this they were hated by the Arabs and looked upon with scorn, even though they had been converted to Islam. The white ex-slaves hated their former masters even more.

This white slave revolt and its historical significance are underplayed. Yet its impact was such that it influenced the course of modern history in black-white relations. The effect of that revolt on the Black world was tragic. For the murderous onslaughts of the white slaves against their erstwhile masters so shocked the white world that the general enslavement of whites ended forever. On this the record is clear: White slavery ended after the Mameluke rebellion. Thereafter Black Africa became the exclusive hunting ground for slaves—a situation made easy by the developments outlined in this work. All the theories of inherent Black inferiority stemmed from the urgently felt need to justify the success in confining slavery to the African race.

The answer to the riddle of the centuries can be traced right here, for that great change in human history when only Blacks were enslaved led to the general degradation of a whole people. The way was now both open and easy for all the relevant branches of science and scholarship to proclaim theories on the inherent inferiority of Blacks. Far worse than this, since Black populations were everywhere under white control, they could actually be *forced into inferiority* by a dehumanizing program "silently" structured in all institutions and phases of white national life. The Blacks are the immediate victims of those diseases born of poverty and planned deprivation—undernourished and diseased mothers carrying and bringing into the world babies who are both physically and mentally handicapped even before birth. Among the many other outcomes from confining slavery to the African race that will be stated at this point was making the very word "black" anathema—something evil, undesirable, or just plain bad luck whenever applied.

* * *

The Mameluke Sultan sent another expedition in 1323 to put the African king, Kerembes, on the throne again after his brother deposed the Arab king and himself died a few days later. The coups and counter-coups still seemed to be endless and not at all the presupposed political phenomena characteristically confined to the Blacks. Therefore, as soon as the Mameluke forces withdrew from the South, Kanz al-Dawlah returned, overthrew Kerembes a second time, and became king again. Meanwhile, another strong Arab tribe, the Guhayna, had been pouring into the Sudan in such great waves that they rapidly became the dominant Arab group below the Second Cataract. The kingdom known to history as Makuria was no more. It was the kingdom that, together with its more southern neighbor, battled to maintain and expand the glorious civilization of the Motherland for another thousand years after the fall of the imperial city of Meroe. That was why it was close to the Fifteenth century before a Ibn Khaldun or anyone else could report that the Guhayna Arabs were the complete masters of the Land of the Blacks from the First Cataract to the highlands of Abyssinia. The history of Black Egypt had been repeated in the

Black South: The coming of the Caucasian, whether from Asia or Europe, or whether in the name of peace, trade, an "integrated society" or in the name of the Allah of the Arabs or the God and Jesus Christ of the Jews and Christians—no matter under what pretext they came it meant the destruction of the highly advanced civilization of the Blacks and their total degradation as a people. And the same ethnic phenomenon that accelerated the process of racial disintegration in Egypt also operated in the Sudan. This was, simply stated, the widespread sexual activities on the part of Arab men and Black slave girls, the outcome of which was a new breed of Afro-Arabs—the same sexual process that produced "Egyptians" as a nationality group neither Asian nor African. In the Sudan Arabization and Islamization had another outcome: Not only did the Afro-Arabs consider themselves Arabs and bitterly resented being called Sudanese (Black) but thousands of the jet-black, unmixed Africans insisted on being classed as Arabs. They still do (this fact was settled beyond question during my field studies in the Sudan in 1964). This fact also confuses and frustrates the Black world both in and outside of Africa. For who, now, are our "African brothers?"

AND NOW—ALWA

With the capture and control of the biggest remaining kingdom of the Ethiopian empire completed through peaceful infiltrations and waves of Arab refugees covering centuries, the triumphant Arabs were not disposed to follow the same long drawn-out procedure in taking over the last key kingdom of the formerly black empire. This was Alwa. The Arabs decided on a full-scale war against this last citadel of black power in the Southern Sudan. Although Makuria was most in the spotlight of the wars against the Arab incursions, she was ably supported by Alwa. Makuria had to carry the brunt of the burden because it was right next door to the enemy and it alone had the awesome responsibility of holding the floodgates above the First Cataract through which the Arab tides ebbed and flowed. Meanwhile Alwa, with ruins of the imperial cities of Napata and Meroe in its very midst, had a more direct responsibility for restoring and maintaining the glories of a Black civilization that had refused to die with the fall of the

Ethiopian Empire a thousand years before. So Alwa had replaced Meroe with its beautiful capital city of Soba, and had developed its other towns and cities along such advanced lines that foreign writers never failed to comment on the architectural designs, the wide streets lined with palm trees, the spacious homes and, in fact, all of the things they had observed in Makuria: The thriving industrial crafts, large scale cattle raising, a surplus producing agriculture that kept alive an export trade in dates, wheat and garri, cotton fabrics and other produce not easily perishable, and an efficient administration, a strong army headed by formidable cavalry regiments. Alwa had made its defense system more secure by maintaining more walled towns and cities than Makuria. These walled places were rebuilt primarily as centers of refuge against the constant Arab slave raids. Now they were to serve as freedom's final bastions of defense against local enslavement. Alwa was ready for what everyone knew was its last war as a nation.

For the Arabs had formed a great confederation of its feuding tribes. These, while perpetually at war among themselves, could always be counted on to unite quickly against non-Arab and non-Muslim peoples. Before the United Arab armies entered Alwa, the Black leadership had ordered a general evacuation of the country by all women and children and the aged. The men—warriors all, remained to face the foe. It is not known whether the traditional Black Women's Army Corps existed in Alwa. In any event, the Arabs did not find—and indeed did not expect—the conquest to be easy. They knew well the courage of the Blacks in battle and their unwillingness to surrender even when defeated. So they had to take Alwa city by city, town by town, village by village, hill by hill and bush by bush. The Blacks had built a high order of life that they were fighting and dying for. This they did nobly on the plains of Alwa in 1504, while their people, some never to be seen again, joined other countless thousands in the great migrations toward East, West, Central, and Southern Africa.

THE SURPRISE KINGDOM

During the same period these two Black states were being destroyed, the history of the rebirth of destroyed African states was being repeated just beyond their borders by migrating Africans who

had decided to make another stand in the very midst of death and danger. These Blacks were called the Funj people. They gathered in strength and, with consummate daring, quickly formed a new nation the very year Alwa passed from the scene as a state. Under the leadership of the strong king, general and statesman, Amara Dungas, they established their capital at Sennar on the Blue Nile and at the very outset they assumed an aggressive stance that put the world on notice that Black Power in Africa had not yet been completely destroyed, and that another fighting state had emerged from the ashes of those that had just been destroyed. Indeed, the Funj state arose with a suddenness and proceeded with policies and programs so daring that it shocked both the Arabs and the now-encroaching Ottoman Turks. The latter, after overthrowing Mameluke rule and taking over Egypt, quickly built and expanded defensive fortifications against possible Funj invasions. For these Blacks had turned the tables of history by annexing and bringing under control the Arab tribal states in the Lower Gezira region and the areas around the present Khartoum. The Funj king appointed an Arab as his governor over Arab provinces, emphasizing the Arabs status of tributary vassals by giving the office of governor an African title. All this proved to be just too much for our Western historians. Characteristically, and even today, they refer to the Funj as a "mysterious people," wonder from whence they came, and they debate, with the usual air of deep scholarship, whether or not these Blacks of the Funj Kingdom were really Blacks! When it is suggested that they "probably came from the east," it is a repeat of the overworked canard that plants the idea that all such people must have come from Asia. In his recent *Modern History of the Sudan*, P. M. Holt concludes that "A rigorous investigation of the problem of Funj origins has yet to be made." *Why* is there a problem? And *what* is the problem, if there is one? Both questions are integral parts of the Great Issues in this work. They have been rather fully answered in different contexts. As to this particular case, therefore, the "*problem* of Funj origins" is a problem for Caucasians only, with the possible exception of those Negro scholars whose skewed vision of reality is through eyes of blue. People not concerned with the distortions of history, but desire the truth about the past as honestly as it can be determined, will have no difficulty in understanding that the people who were called

Funj were one of the uprooted and countless groups we have been describing, driven from one place and reorganizing to settle in another until uprooted again and again, and resettling and rebuilding again and again—on and on until the Europeans swept the whole continent—and afterward. Some wandered to the utmost parts, as stated over and over; and some, like the Shilluks who built the Funj Kingdom, did not leave their general region. If they "came from the east," it was from the east bank of the Nile.

In the interest of trade and foreign commerce, Funj kings, as many African kings were to do later, began to accept Islam and take the Arabic title of sultans. Thereafter, writers called the kingdom the "Funj Sultanate." In this matter of commercial activities, it should be specially noted that in early times the Blacks equalled the Semitic peoples in their interest and drive in the fields of finance, industry and foreign trade. All over Africa there were whole societies that were distinguished and even enjoyed fame for their skill and success in one of these business fields. That interest and drive in large scale economic endeavors were generally lost along with other institutions that had been the basis of their advanced culture—this was the major tragedy in the history of the Blacks, and one about which they have not even yet been fully awakened.

Funj (or Shilluk) traders roamed far and wide in the great game of buying and selling. The continued prosperity of the country depended largely on their selling activities in neighboring states, in Egypt and over the all-important caravan trade routes to distant lands. This trade was the forceful stimulus that kept the people at home busy and happy in producing the necessary surplus in agriculture, mining and in the craft industries of various kinds. Having become Muslims, if only in name, the Funj merchants were readily received everywhere in the increasingly Islamized world in Africa and Asia. The fact that they came from a proud and warlike state may have had more to do with the deference shown them than the fact of their being Muslims. Non-Muslim Makuria and Alwa had a most flourishing trade with the Muslim world. Their traders had also been received with respect and honor by the Arabs. It is ironic that one has to be a fighter to command greater respect. Unlike Makuria and Alwa, the Funj Kingdom did not resist Islamization but welcomed it. Yet its African nationalism

clearly transcended Islam. The number of sultans and notables who rejected Arabic names is impressive and significant. Their open-door policies, however, were to speed up the pace of Arabization not only in the Funj kingdom but all over the Sudan.

And as Arabization spread among the Blacks so did slavery and slave raiding. The Arabs' insatiable and perpetual demands for slaves had long since changed slavery from an institution that signalled a military victory by the number of captured prisoners to an institution that provoked warfare expressly for the enslavement of men, women and children for sale and resale. Human beings had now openly become very profitable articles of trade and the slave dealers had found shorter routes to quicker riches. The Funj, like many other Black states then and since, found added wealth in the slave trade, and a new reason for waging war on its neighbors for "prisoners of war" to further the trade.⁴ Today it is difficult to find even a small region that does not have a history of inter-tribal conflicts that stemmed directly from one group's raiding another for slaves, or trying to either conquer another group, annex it or enslave the whole society that was overrun. The Funj, then, is just another example of a role played by the Blacks that not only guaranteed their own damnation, but also made their reunification for nationhood or anything else a most difficult undertaking. The difficulty becomes impossible of solution when as soon as the yoke of white oppressors has been removed, the descendants of former Black oppressors come forth as the rightful rulers as before—just as though nothing at all had happened to change the overlord status of their proud slave-selling ancestors.

The Funj kingdom, because of its Muslim shield and "war-making machine," survived as a black state, in what otherwise would have been an impossible environment, for three hundred years. These centuries were characterized by all the ups and downs, internal power struggles, coups and counter-coups that beset other states. Sometimes an Arab dynasty ruled, sometimes it was an Afro-Arab line, and at other times, most often, it was a Black dynasty, or what the Arabs called the Hamaji. The end came at the beginning of the nineteenth century when the Ottoman Turks be-

4. One account states that the Funj Kingdom joined Arabs in the destruction of Alwa. This, too, is possible.

gan their reign of terror in the Sudan with the seizure of Sennar by Muhammed Ali—the same Muhammed Ali who was the greatest murderer of Blacks that ever set foot on the African Continent. His massacre of men, women and children was on such a scale that even the white world protested.

A brief summary of the history of the three black states we have mentioned would be much longer than what we have said about Makuria, Alwa and Funj. Recounting the details of their history was not intended. Rather the case-study approach is being used, as announced in the Preview. Each of the states is presented as additional and more concrete documentation of the positions I have taken, often in what might appear to be overly generalized declarations. In each case, beginning with Egypt, the main focus was on the significant data on the history of the Black people—and not on the great masses of equally interesting details which were not needed. A few more states will be presented as further illustrations of all that is being said in connection with the history of the African people.

We started in the "Heartland of the Race" where its history clearly extended from the Sudan over Egypt.

The antiquity of Black civilization, the amazing heights it reached before recorded history, the early problems of Asian invasions, amalgamation and the new breed—the Coloured Egyptians, Caucasian penetration into royal Black lineages, the increasing pressures on the Blacks and their southward migrations, the Afro-Asian wars, the black-out of Black history in Egypt, the long drawn-out process of Caucasianization of Egypt as it was de-Africanized, the withdrawal of the Ethiopian border to the First Cataract, the concentration of Blacks below that line, the confusion of Black history through the confusion of names, color and dynasties, integration and amalgamation as brotherhood myths, the great Black migrations, the splitting up of states and languages and their role in the decline of Black African civilization—all of these historical factors were set forth before the final collapse of the Ethiopian empire in the Fourth century A.D., and before we began the analyses of the three "children" states that were born as their imperial mother passed, bequeathing to them her own deathless spirit to carry on.

The main characteristics of the history of the Blacks are reflect-

ed in those states: Building an advanced system of life, then having it destroyed, building again, destruction again, migrating and building somewhere else, only to be sought out and destroyed again; moving, moving, moving, always moving, rebuilding and moving, again and again; countless thousands giving up the struggle as utterly hopeless; internal strife increased as external pressures and threats to existence increase; an every-man-for-himself philosophy replaces that of eternal brotherhood in some societies and, through it all, new states were formed even during the most destructive centuries when death seemed to be a rider on every stream and passing breeze—new states trying to restore yet once again their lost civilization, their written languages, their forgotten arts and sciences, the organization and study of their oral history that had come down unbroken in its main outlines from generation to generation, and the chance to remain in one area long enough to live once again under an African constitutional system that is unrivaled by that of any people—these efforts were still being pushed in every region of the African continent long after the undermining operation had been set in motion to pave the way for the conquests by Europe. The Africans were still rebuilding their own civilization when that of Asia and Europe was imposed.

When, if ever, Black people actually organize as a race in their various population centers, they will find that the basic and guiding ideology they now seek and so much need is embedded in their own traditional philosophy and constitutional system—simply waiting to be extracted and set forth. And while the work in this field has yet to be advanced further, some of the most fundamental principles of African political science and philosophy of life are to be found in the pages which follow.

CHAPTER VI

The African Constitution: Birth of Democracy

IN OUR INTRODUCTORY PREVIEW OF AFRICAN HISTORY references were made to the common origin of the people the white world prefers to call "Negro." That we are here studying a single race, not races; and a single people, not peoples, is a major theory and fact of Black history and one of our principal guidelines. We are, therefore, primarily concerned only with those things which were characteristically African, practically universal among them from one end of the continent to the other and which thereby indicated an ancient common culture in a common center of Black civilization. On this we stand.

In this light the African Constitution is discussed as a body of fundamental theories, principles and practices drawn from the customary laws that governed Black African societies from the earliest times. The first task was to divorce traditional African institutions from those influenced by later Asian and European incursions; to determine what is truly African in origin and what is in fact either Asian or European or a reflection of any kind of external influence. Another task was to determine whether an institution called "African" was in fact African in the sense of being

universal among the Blacks—a continent-wide institution in contradistinction to something peculiar to one or more tribes, nations or African regions. This distinction is important here, for too often things are characterized as "African" which apply only to certain societies. These represent the development of the whole complex of cultural variations about which Western writers declaim in emphasizing the "great ethnic differences" among the people. (This is not accidental or without design. Caucasian fears about the possibility of Blacks developing a sense of oneness and unity of action is deep and centuries old. Many subtle schemes are used to maintain divisiveness—and with success.)



A student of comparative history can see without difficulty that various peoples scattered all over the world often develop similar institutions without ever having had any contacts whatsoever. This is equally true of the most isolated groups. Similar circumstances may produce similar ideas and culture patterns—all of which may confirm the Cartesian theory about the equal distribution of common sense among all mankind. By simply "doing what comes naturally," one society may evolve a life system not unlike another society ten thousand miles away across distant oceans. Therefore, neither the "External Influence" theory nor that of the common origin of a widely segmented people should be hastily affirmed. We hold this to be true even in the study of one race in the generally same environment of one continent. The evidence must still be conclusive.

ORIGIN OF AFRICAN DEMOCRACY

The foregoing observations suggest that the Constitution of any people or nation, written or unwritten, derives from its customary rules of life; and that what we now call "democracy" was generally the earliest system among various peoples throughout the ancient world. What was a relatively new development was absolute monarchy.

Among the Blacks, democratic institutions evolved and functioned in a socio-economic and political system which Western

writers call "Stateless societies" or "Societies without chiefs." When these societies were referred to as "primitive" democracies, the writers are in fact doing the very opposite of what they intended. Because, far from being just a descriptive term for backward peoples, "primitive" also means "the first," the beginners. Moreover, many of these "stateless societies" were states in fact without necessarily conforming to a predetermined Western structural pattern of a state. Indeed, what is called a "stateless society" in Africa would hardly be classified as such in the West, for the Western definition of a state does not include the requirements of *one man* as its executive head—a *state* being any collection of people occupying a given territory, and living under their own government independently of external control.

These facts are set forth at the outset because both the constitutional system and its offspring, African democracy, originated in "chiefless societies." And, what is even more significant, democracy reached its highest development here where the people actually governed themselves without chiefs, where self-government was a way of life, and "law and order" were taken for granted.

The basic structural outline of these states remained the same throughout Africa. There were the usual variations and exceptions. The amazing thing was and is the uniformity—amazing how the most basic elements of ancient Black civilization could have been held on to, continent-wide, by all of these dispersed and isolated groups in spite of the continuing impact of unimaginable forces of destruction.

The lineage ties and responsibilities and the age-grade or age-set system were the earliest institutions through which the African constitution functioned, and out of which its democracy was born. It was a network of kinsmen, and alleged kinsmen, all of whom descended from the same ancestor or related ancestors. All might live in the same community or state, but they were often scattered far and near in separate and independent societies.

The ancestor from whom they claimed descent was always "great" because of some outstanding deed or extraordinary achievements. These generally grew in magnitude as time and the generations passed, thus causing the true achievements to be overlaid by the false claims growing out of praise songs. Each generation of poets and storytellers gave the imagination full range in Romantic

glory. Myths were born in this manner, and the later concepts of both royalty and divinity gained support from the same source. In contiguous independent chiefdoms the lineage was the powerful factor in providing the basis and incentive for the later formation of kingdoms and empires. No people in African history used the concept of kinship ties more effectively than the Lunda in the remarkable expansion of their empire. Even more remarkable than the territorial expansion of the Lunda empire was their idea of a nation as one big brotherhood. Accordingly, instead of first attempting to conquer and annex by force, they would approach independent states and seek to demonstrate from oral history that all of them were merely segments of a common lineage—all brothers in fact. It appears that the majority of states believed in the principle of a common ancestry and readily became members of the empire; some required more facts before they were convinced; still others were not convinced or preferred to remain separate and independent anyway. These were generally conquered and given a lower status in the nation than those who united voluntarily.

But we are considering lineage before the rise of kingdoms and in particular, the lineage as the governing and organizing force in states without chiefs or kings, where community consensus was the supreme law that anyone could ignore only at his peril.

There were interesting aspects to the many situations where a large number of these chiefless states were scattered over a wide territory, each independent of the others, yet all fully aware (and unlike those in Lundaland, had to be convinced) that they belonged to a common lineage. Kinship found expression in trade and in temporary confederations when attacked by external foes (those not considered to be members of their lineage).

There were quarrels and warfare between these member states of the common lineage. The highly humane aspect of African warfare that puzzled many Western visitors doubtlessly developed from the widespread recognition of lineage or kinship ties. For in the much heralded "tribal wars" the main objective was to overcome or frighten away the adversary, not to kill at all if it could be avoided. Hence the hideous masks and blood-curdling screams as they charged. Even when the enemy was defeated or completely surrounded, escape routes were provided, the victors pretending not to be aware of them. Indeed, there are reports of "rest periods,"

called when neither side seemed to be winning. At such times the warriors on both sides might meet at the nearest stream to refresh themselves, kid each other, and laugh at each others' jokes until the drums, gongs or trumpets sounded for the resumption of the battle. This was traditional Africa. How did it change to warfare to kill each other, lineage or no lineage? How did it happen that even now in our modern and "advanced" civilization some of the most murderous and inhuman of wars are fought by Blacks *against Blacks*—and this in the face of their increasing awareness that they are in fact one people? It is quite clear that in early Africa "war" was not much more than a frightful game when among themselves. Was the radical change brought about by the death-dealing incursions from Asia and Europe? This raises other questions of great urgency: Are we really civilized today? Have we not substituted the trappings of civilization—our triumphs in science, technology, and the computer "revolution"—for civilization itself? Suffice it is to say here that the steady weakening of lineage ties and its spirit of unity was also a weakening of the sense of brotherhood and unity among the Blacks. Today it really finds little expression except in various language or tribal groups, and these maintain it more and more as a cohesive force to be used against all others.

Lineage, then, was the most powerful and effective force for unity and stability in early Africa, and this was so true that a state could be self-governed without the need for any one individual as ruler, chief or king. Everyone was a lawyer because just about everyone knew the Customary laws.

The age-grade or age-set (also called "class") was the specific organizational structure through which the society functioned.

Classification was determined by the period in which one was born. All persons born in the same year, or within a general but well-defined period before or after a given year, belonged in the same age-grade. Each grade covered a block of years: Age-grade one might include all children up to age twelve; grade two, from thirteen to eighteen; grade three, nineteen to twenty-eight; grade four, twenty-nine to forty; and grade five, forty and above. There was seniority within each grade according to age and intelligence. Intelligence and wisdom were supposed to match one's age. Stated another way, the African philosophy that accorded so much defer-

ence to elders was based upon the assumption that, *all other things being equal*, those who were living in the world and experiencing life before others were born should know more than these others. This qualification is important because it was later applied in the election of chiefs and kings. Being an heir to the throne was not enough. One had to meet other qualifications or be passed over. Therefore, being older or the oldest in one's group did not command the usual respect if one was lazy, a trouble-maker, or a fool.

EARLY EDUCATION

The interlocking responsibilities of the various grades accounted for the smooth functioning of the chiefless states. Each grade had its own social, economic and political role. The children's set covered the years of game and play. Around the ages of six and seven, however, general training and some little jobs began to be mingled with play. Primary education included story-telling, mental arithmetic, community songs and dances, learning the names of various birds and animals, the identification of poisonous snakes, local plants and trees, and how to run and climb swiftly when pursued by dangerous animals. Child training also included knowing and associating with members of one's age-group as brothers and sisters, and to regard them as brothers and sisters until death and beyond. Little chores around the house became routine, such as gathering sticks of wood for fuel, bringing water, tending the cattle, feeding the chickens or, if a girl, looking after baby or younger ones, imitating mother at cooking and trying to learn how to sew and knit. The nearest thing to the boys' political role in childhood was when he carried his father's or uncle's stool to village council meetings and listened to the interminable debates.

The next grade above childhood was teenage through age eighteen. (These periods, of course, varied in different societies). Now both training and responsibilities were stepped-up. Play time was either over or very much limited. Education and training became more complex and extensive. Upon their performance at this age level the youths' entire future depended. He or she was marked for success or failure in this second age-set that began at age 13. The boy was now required to learn his extended family history and that of his society, the geography of the region, names

of neighboring states and the nature of the relations with them, the handling of weapons, hunting as a skilled art, rapid calculation, clearing the bush for planting, the nature of soils and which kinds grew what best, military tactics, care and breeding of cattle, the division of labor between males and females, bartering tactics, rules of good manners at home and abroad, competitive sports, leadership examples for the childhood age group below and responsibilities to the age-group above. The apprenticeship system in which one became a skilled craftsman was one of the most important of the Second level age-set activities. This is another reason why this age-grade was the most crucial of all. At its end one went through the initiation rites for the exalted level of manhood. The girls age-grade periods differed from those of the boys. Introduction to womanhood, roles, for example, was earlier. They had the same intellectual training as the boys: history, geography, rapid calculation, poetry, music and dance. The training in child care, housekeeping, gardening, cooking, marketing, social relations with particular stress on good manners—these were some of the essentials in the age-grade education and training of young people at this level. Housekeeping, mentioned above, does not reveal the important kind of training that came under that heading, for its most important training aim was "how to be a successful wife"—an everlastingly desirable wife. In many societies, this training, by older women away from the community, included the art of exciting sexual intercourse, position variations, cleanliness in the relationship and, in short, the do's and don't's in intimate relations. These early Black societies were in many ways far in advance of the modern.

The first two grades may be designated as A and B, the third as C, the fourth as D, and the final and highest as grade E. Grade C, ages 19 through 28, was the manhood and first-line-of-action group. Its members led in the hunting, community construction, preparing the fields for planting, forming the various industrial craft guilds (secret societies, each of which guarded the processes of its art), protecting the far-ranging grazing cattle, the upkeep of roads and paths between villages, policing areas when necessary, and forming the bulwark of the fighting force. The young women in grade C, were generally wives. They were responsible for the planting and care of the farms (the heavy work of bush clearing, etc.,

having been done by the men), the operations of the markets (hence the stress on mental arithmetic in their training), visiting and care of the sick and the aged, formation of women's societies (the media for women's social, economic and indirect but very real political influence), and they were responsible for and in supreme control of all matters concerning the home. In those societies that had female fighting forces, the women's armies were formed almost entirely from age-grade C.

In terms of constitutional rights and duties (the two were inseparable in early Africa), there was not much difference between age-group C and age-group D. Seniority was the significant difference, since D was from age 29 to 40. If otherwise qualified, members in this class upon reaching the age of 36 were eligible for election to the most highly honored body in the society, the Council of Elders—an honor and privilege specially reserved for those 40 years old and above, group E.

THE EARLIEST JUDICIAL SYSTEM

In the chiefless states the function of the elders was wholly advisory. For this reason they rarely ever met as a council. A council meeting might be called by the Senior Elder in case of extreme emergency. Matters involving members of the same family or clan could be settled by the family council, each family or clan having its own elder. Conflicts between families or clans could be brought before any mutually acceptable elder for settlement. The elder's judgment was not binding on the parties to the dispute. This was the constitutional theory. If the case was "big" and serious and the disputants were dissatisfied with the elder's decision regarding it, they could call in one or more additional elders to hear and pass on the case. Their decision was also advisory and could be disregarded by the parties to the action. Yes, the elders' advisory judgments *could be* ignored under ancient African constitutional law. Yet under practical operation of that same constitution, the disputants could ignore their elders' judgment only at their peril. For to ignore the elders was considered to be ignoring the community itself. The only exception to this was in cases where the elder or elders rendered an obviously bad decision. Even then it was not left to the contestants to say whether the judgment was

good or bad. The community decided, because the community was thought to be represented in the ever-present crowd at such hearings. They, the people present, always indicated their attitude by expressions and nods of approval or disapproval of decisions reached.

The constitutional theory and principle here are especially significant because of the important form they took in all African societies in every part of the continent as they evolved from societies without chiefs to centralized states under chiefs, kings, and emperors. For in this continent-wide constitutional development the chief or king became the mouthpiece of the people and the instrument for carrying out their will. They still had no "ruler" in the Asian and European sense. On questions in dispute he was in the same position as litigants in the chiefless states. Like them, under the constitution, he had absolute power in theory, and in theory he could ignore the Council and do exactly as he pleased. But in practice, like the disputants, he did not dare to defy the Council of Elders, which also had evolved and become "the people"—their direct representatives.

Africans generally prefer to dwell on the constitutional theories and not the constitutional practices. They proudly speak of the freedom and absolute powers of the chief or king.¹ Some will even tell you that the king "owned all the land" in the country. They are not trying to deceive. Words of another language often fail to translate the people's concepts or meaning. When they say the king is supreme or has absolute power they mean that he has absolute power to carry out the will of the people. It was so well understood that supreme power rested in the people that it was never thought necessary to state such a fact. Likewise, they would say, and say proudly, the king "owns all the land in the country" since everybody but a fool knew that he didn't, that nobody *owned* the land (again in the Western sense), and that the king's role was that of custodian and overseer, his principal duty being to see that the land was fairly distributed among all families.

In the chiefless society the elders were the overseers of land distribution to families. Finally, nothing contributed more to the efficiency and success of self-government without governors than

1. The Mossi were a specific example.

the system wherein each age grade was responsible for the conduct of its members, and that before any misconduct could reach one's age-grade council it was handled by his family council. This never meant leniency. It meant the very opposite, because each family was jealous of its honor and image in the community, and any of its members whose behavior reflected unfavorably on the family were in trouble with their own family first of all. The result of this was that the age-grade councils rarely ever had a case and, obviously, this self-government, beginning with the basic social unit, the family, radically reduced the number of cases that went before the elders. Stated another way, each family policed itself, each age group policed itself, so that there was little or nothing that the community as a whole had to do. Each group elected its own leaders. These met with other age grade leaders on community matters that cut across age-grade lines.

It was therefore in the societies without chiefs or kings where African democracy was born and where the concept that the people are sovereign was as natural as breathing. And this is why in traditional Africa the rights of the individual never came before the rights of the community. Individual freedom was unlimited until it clashed with the interests or welfare of the community. This is also why the evolution to a highly centralized state still found the king under communal law, not above it, and definitely unable to do as he pleased.

These self-governing people did not have a Utopian society in any idealistic sense. Theirs was a practical society in every way. The laws were natural laws, and order and justice prevailed because the society could not otherwise survive. Theirs was, in fact, a government of the people; theirs was, in fact, not theory, a government by the people; and it was, in fact, a government for the people. That this kind of government did "pass from the earth" is another fact we now call "modern progress."

We shall note later the impact of some of the developments previously mentioned on the traditional constitution, particularly as it operated in the reestablished, centralized "migratory" states. Meanwhile, it might be well if we single out some of the key provisions of that constitution; for, again, the aim is to set forth—and set forth in specific terms—the actual all-African institutions that all Africans lost and of which their descendants do not have

even a memory. One of the world's greatest constitutional systems was one of their tragic losses.

SOME POLITICAL THEORIES AND PRINCIPLES OF ANCIENT AFRICAN CONSTITUTIONAL LAW

AND

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

(Drawn from African Traditional Constitutional and Customary Laws. Different versions and modifications of the same laws occurred in different societies)

I. The People are the first and final source of all power.

II. The rights of the community of people are, and of right ought to be, superior to those of any individual, including Chiefs and Kings (a) *The Will of the People* is the supreme law; (b) chiefs and kings are under the law, not above it.

III. Kings, Chiefs and Elders are *leaders*, not rulers. They are the elected representatives of the people and the instruments for executing their will.

IV. Government and people are one and the same.

V. The family is recognized as the primary social, judicial, economic and political unit in the society; the family council may function as a court empowered to try all internal (non-serious) matters involving only members of the Extended Family Group.

VI. The Elder of each Extended Family or Clan is its chosen representative on the Council.

VII. Decisions in council are made by the Elders. The Chief or King must remain silent: Even when he announces the Council's decision it is through a Speaker (Linguist). Decrees or laws are issued in the same manner to assure that the voice of the Chief or King is the "voice of the people." (This is an example of a provision that had wide variations.)

VIII. The land belongs to no one. It is God's gift to mankind for use and as a sacred heritage, transmitted by our forefathers as a bond between the living and the dead, to be held in trust by

each generation for the unborn who will follow, and thus to the last generation.

IX. Each family, therefore, has a right to land, free of charge, sufficient in acreage for its economic well-being; for the right to the opportunity and means to make a living is the right to live.

- (a) The land, accordingly, cannot be sold or given away.
- (b) The land may be held for life and passed on to the family's heirs, and so on forever.
- (c) The Chief is the Custodian of all land, the principal duty being to assure fair distribution and actual use.

X. All moneys, gifts, taxes and other forms of donations to Chief or King still belong to the people for relief or aid to individuals in times of need.

XI. Every member of the state has the right of appeal from a lower to higher court. (In some states appeals could be taken even from the King's Court to the "Mother of the Nation").

- (a) The procedure was from the Chief's Village Court to the District Court, to the Provincial Court, to the King's Court.
- (b) Such appeals were allowed in serious or major crimes only (those affecting the whole society).

XII. Fines for offenses against an individual went to the victim, not the court.

- (a) Part of money received from the loser was returned to him as an expression of goodwill and desire for renewal of friendship;
- (b) Another part was given as a fee to the trial court as an appreciation of justice.

XIII. "Royalty" in African terms means Royal *Worth*, the highest in character, wisdom, sense of justice and courage.

- (a) He who founded the nation by uniting many as one must be the real leader, guide and servant of his people.
- (b) The people, in honor of the founder of the nation, thereafter will elect Chiefs from the founder's family (lineage) if the heirs meet the original test that reflected the Founder's character, whose spirit was supposed to be inherited.

XIV. The trouble of one is the trouble of all. No one may go in want while others have anything to give. All are brothers and sisters. Each is his "brothers' or sisters' keeper."

XV. Age grades, sets, and classes are social, economic, political and military systems for (1) basic and advanced traditional education (formal). (2) Individual and group responsibility roles. (3) Police and military training. (4) Division of labor. (5) Rites of passage and social activities. In chiefless societies the age grades are the organs of social, economic and political action.

XVI. Bride Price or Bride Wealth is the gift that signifies mutual acceptance on the part of both families and is intended as a family security bond which may be returned in part if the wife turns out to be worthless or utterly unsatisfactory. (Bride Wealth tended to stabilize the institution of marriage. This was not "Wife-buying").

XVII. The community as a whole is conceived of as *One Party*, opposition being conducted by leaders of various factions.

- (1) Factions of opposition are usually formed by the different age-groups.
- (2) Debates may go on indefinitely or until a consensus is reached.
- (3) Once a consensus is reached, and the community's will determined, all open opposition to the common will must cease.
- (4) Those whose opposition is so serious that they are unwilling to accept the new law may "splinter off" either individually or in groups under a leader (to form a new state or the nucleus for it).

XVIII. In warfare the object is not to kill the enemy, but to overcome him with fear if possible, such as screaming war cries, loud noise, hideously masked faces, etc. Where killing is unavoidable it must be kept at a minimum. In case of defeat there must be some kind of ruse to enable the enemy to retire in honor.

XIX. The African religion, not being a creed or "articles of faith," but an actual way of thinking and living, is reflected in all institutions and is, therefore, of the greatest constitutional significance;

- (1) Politically, the role of the Chief as High Priest who presents the prayers of the people to his and their ancestors in Heaven, is the real source of his influence, political or otherwise.
- (2) Socially, the "rites of passage," songs, and the dances (to drive away evil, etc.), as well as the purification and sacrificial rites for the atonement of sins—are important.
- (3) The economy was directly affected by setting aside certain areas of land, groves, lakes and rivers as sacred (not to be used, and innumerable religious festival days).

XX. Since religious and moral law must prevail and the race survive, a man may have more than one wife; for he is forbidden to sleep or cohabit with his wife either during the nine months of pregnancy or during the suckling period of one or two years thereafter. (1) The wife may not prepare meals for the husband or family during the menstrual period. (2) The husband is strictly forbidden to have any kind of relationship with one wife during the set period that belongs to another wife.

XXI. The supreme command of the fighting forces is under the Council, not the King. If the King becomes the Commander-in-Chief it is through election by the Council because of his qualification as a general or field commander. This position ends with the war and the armed forces return to former status under the Council or, more directly under the respective Paramount chiefs. There were no standing armies.

* * *

THE FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE

The following is a representative number of human rights, also drawn from customary laws or traditional constitutions:

Every member of the community had—

- (1) The right to equal protection of the law.
- (2) The right to a home.
- (3) The right to land sufficient for earning livelihood for oneself and family.

- (4) Right to aid in times of trouble.
- (5) The right to petition for redress of grievances.
- (6) The right to criticize and condemn any acts by the authorities or proposed new laws. (Opposition groups, in some areas called "The Youngmen," were recognized by law.)
- (7) The right to reject the community's final decision on any matter and to withdraw from the community unmolested—the right of rebellion and withdrawal.
- (8) The right to a fair trial. There must be no punishment greater than the offense, or fines beyond ability to pay. This latter is determined by income and status of individual and his family.
- (9) The right to indemnity for injuries or loss caused by others.
- (10) The right to family or community care in cases of sickness or accidents.
- (11) The right to special aid from the Chief in circumstances beyond family's ability.
- (12) The right to a general education covering morals and good manners, family rights and responsibilities, kinship groups and social organization, neighborhoods and boundaries, farming and marketing, rapid mental calculation, and family, clan, tribal and state histories.
- (13) The right to apprentice training for a useful vocation.
- (14) The right to an inheritance as defined by custom.
- (15) The right to develop one's ability and exercise any developed skills.
- (16) The right to protect one's family and kinsmen, even by violent means if such becomes necessary and can be justified.
- (17) The right to the protection of moral law in respect to wife and children—a right which not even the king can violate.
- (18) The right of a man, even a slave, to rise to occupy the highest positions in the state if he has the requisite ability and character.

- (19) The right to protection and treatment as a guest in enemy territory once one is within the gates of the enemy's village, town or city.
- (20) And the right to an equal share in all benefits from common community undertakings if one has contributed to the fullest extent of his ability, no matter who or how many were able to contribute more.

• • •

These constitutional principles and practices were held on to and carried by the migrating Blacks to every part of the African continent. This fact is one of the most remarkable parts of the Black man's story—most remarkable because even those societies that sank to barbarism held on to the fundamentals age after age as though they were clutching the last threads of life itself. Even in Egypt, where the Asian and European impact was greatest, African constitutionalism could not be completely blotted out.

*"... We have come over a way that with tears have been watered
We have come treading our way through the blood of the slaughtered . . ."*

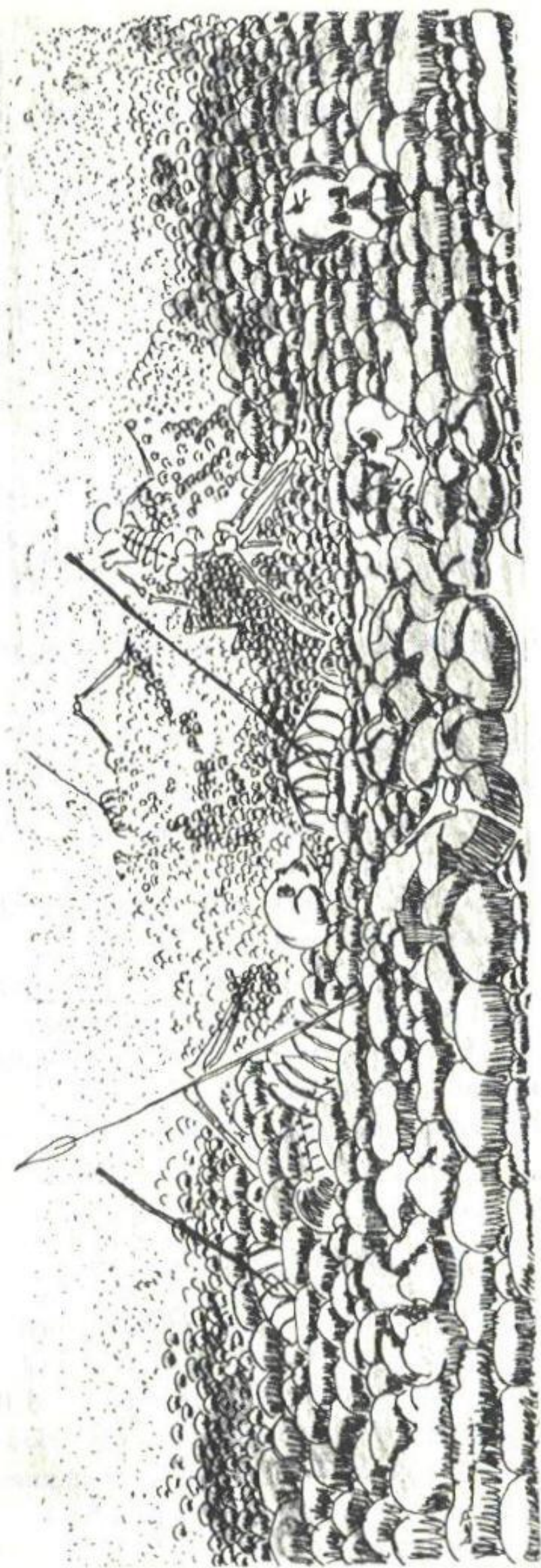
CHAPTER VII

The Scattering of the People: Routes to Death and Resurrection

THE AFRICAN MIGRATIONS HAVE BEEN STRESSED AT various points as one of the major developments from which so much can be learned about the history of the Black people. The migrations explain many things. They were people in perpetual movements. The movements were human tragedies spanning too many milleniums. For it was noted that the great pressures on the Africans actually began in prehistoric times and that the pressures that uprooted so many settled communities came from two principal agents of destruction: the slow and relentless incursions of oceans of sand and the slow and relentless incursions of Asian hordes. The Europeans, coming later, accelerated the movements.

MIGRATIONS AS CULTURE DECLINE

The migrations were of many different kinds, and so much so that the overall description of them is often misleading. There was no general, continuous flight of people, here and there all over the continent. Some of the movements were so slow and limited in space that one might hesitate to call them migrations. These were the groups that moved only a relatively short distance each time and, as a whole, never left their general area. After a hundred



"... We have come over a path that with tears have been watered
We have come treading our way through the blood of the slaughtered ..."

years such groups might not be more than a hundred miles from their traditional home after several generations. Even in the cases of those who migrated farthest, the movement had been slow—slow because the whole movement was forced, every breakup a painful uprooting of communities that had been built on hopes and dreams of a permanent abode. Every move was a search for still another abode where land and water could support life and security could assure another chance of survival. These slow moving migrations were mentioned in the discussion of geographical influences.

There were also the better known migrations that erupted and moved south, east and west like tidal waves. These occurred as the result of the many Asian and European invasions and conquests. They were further accelerated by the new turn in the institution of slavery from the Seventh century A.D., onward. At a much later period—after the Sixteenth century, Black marauding groups such as the Jaga and the Ngoni added to the turmoil and disorganization.

It is quite clear that the waves of Blacks that spread over Africa in these migrations came mainly from the area where Black concentration was greatest and the attacks on that concentration persevered relentlessly. This area of Black concentration of population was the ancient Ethiopian Empire which I have described as the "Heartland of the Race"—its motherland with a civilization that, despite the Asian invasions, still included all Upper Egypt in 3100 B.C., and extended southward over the Sudan across Abyssinia.

But everywhere the people from the birthplace of Black civilization wandered they found, almost without exception, people already settled, some having preceded them by decades or centuries, and others who had been there, according to their ancestors' story, "since the beginning of time." Such, for example, was the tradition of the Kete and Cwa people in Central Africa. The inter-tribal wars and the intense tribalism that developed from them are among the fateful outcomes cited in connection with the migrations.

I have stated a number of times that, inevitably, there were non-blacks in the migrations as they were, in one way or another, integrated with Africans and participated with them in other developments. This meant that there were always a number of predominantly Black groups with some Asians and Mulattoes who were as loyal to the race as any Black. This is the kind of fact

that blasts any attempt to indict a whole people or put them into a single category. Human beings simply refuse to be generalized into neat categories. So in ancient times and even later there were Caucasians who regarded the Blacks as superior people and the question about inherent inequality they would have thought absurd to entertain. The Greeks, who seemed to have studied the advanced civilization of the Blacks more than any other white people, were first among this group. There were, therefore, always Caucasians who were affectionately drawn to the Blacks as by some magic. When recognized as genuine by the Blacks, the esteem became mutual and such Caucasians became an integral part of some Black groups. These were *not* the Caucasians—Asians or Western—who infiltrated Black societies for domination and future conquests. These were the Caucasians, albeit, a small minority, who stayed with the Blacks and fought shoulder to shoulder with them against their own kind, retreated with them in defeat, and were, therefore, a part of the migrations. I have also emphasized that not all of the mixed breeds, whether Afro-Arab or Afro-European, deserted the Blacks for the whites. For while the majority did cleave to the race of their fathers, the devotion of the minority to the race of their mothers seemed to be so spiritual in nature that it more than overshadowed the white-worshipping half-whites.

WHITE SCHOLARS AS AUTHORITIES

And what has all this to do with the migrations? The answer is "Almost everything." Much of the history of Africa has been written by anthropologists. They have written it within the theoretical framework of their own ethnology; and historians and others have relied almost entirely on their classification of peoples. The usual claim that the discipline is a science is made despite the amount of pure guessing that characterizes its conclusions. Racism is so obvious in most of the anthropological findings that one may wonder how, if they hope to maintain the fiction of being scientific, it could escape their notice. It has been suggested that their bias does not in fact go unnoticed, but that they are so certain of the favorable reception by the white audience to which they address themselves that what others outside of that world think is a matter of little consequence. These latter do not supply the millions that

support their African studies. The main thrust of their findings is to make Africa Caucasian from the beginning of its history, and to give the Blacks not just a subordinate role but no significant role at all in that history. Hence their great emphasis on (1) the "Caucasoid" identity of this or that African tribe and, (2) failing that in a highly advanced all-black situation where no such classification could be made, to allege Caucasian influence in one way or another. This record does not require debate. It meets the eyes in most of the books by these "Africanist" experts. There should be no confusion over "Negroid" types or "Caucasoid" types where there was such a widespread mixing of races as was the case in Africa, as elsewhere, from the earliest times. It becomes even more ridiculous when it is established that certain Caucasians have "Negroid" features without the benefit of having any "Negro" blood and, conversely, many of the blackest of the blacks have physical characteristics which are supposed to belong to Caucasians only.

In line with their presumption in taking over the continent and reordering its racial composition, the anthropologists and their historian followers have declared that the "true Negroes" (black Africans) are concentrated in West Africa only! With one wave of the magic wand in their all-powerful, "scientific" hand, they changed the biblical story that the Black race descended from Ham through his son, Cush. The plain fact that the Land of Cush was ancient Ethiopia itself and that the Cushites (Kushites) were Blacks was simply ignored, and Cushites were reclassified as Caucasians! The whites and half-whites who were allied with Black groups and migrated with them are singled out as the determining elements in whatever the groups achieved—even the planting of crops and irrigation techniques. The Asiatic Caucasians who are known to have settled along the northern and eastern coasts of Africa even in pre-historic times are now being presented as the indigenous inhabitants. That archaeologists would find "Caucasoid" types centuries old in any of these areas should be taken as a simple matter of course. Nor would I think it surprising if excavations discovered Caucasoid skeletons several thousand years old anywhere in Africa. The same unshocked attitude is maintained when "Negroid" types were discovered on the British Isles—as indeed "Negroid" remains have been found in other places in Europe and distant lands where no Blacks are known to have lived,

not to mention the millions known to have settled outside of Africa. Therefore, instead of postulating a theory of history that, on the basis of a few skeletal remains, a whole people inhabited an area first, it would be more sensible to conclude that members of this or that race certainly had visited or settled in the area in the long ago, some dying there—away from their own native land. But suppose they did come as permanent settlers, such as the Dutch in South Africa and the British in Rhodesia? The whites of South Africa are not waiting for the certain verdict of anthropologists and historians in their favor. They already claim to be the original inhabitants, saying—as George Peter Murdock and his school proclaim—that "the Africans came into the land later." A thousand years hence there will be no dearth of Caucasoid remains in Africa.

I just referred to George Peter Murdock. All through these discussions I have been unsparing in my criticism of "Caucasoid" scholarship at various points. I have, in effect, accused them of the subtle theft of the achievements of an important division of the human race—deliberate and unconscionable. To understand the basis for this criticism, one need not match my labor by wading through over a hundred books by them. One good example of all that I have been saying in this connection will suffice. That example is Murdock's *Africa—Its Peoples and Their Culture History*. For here is another one of those works which is replete with all the trappings of profound scholarship, bearing, as all such works invariably do, the mark of scientific objectivity. Yet from beginning to end, Murdock maintains his central theme: Africans are not in fact Africans; Black civilization was not in fact Black civilization; countless "peoples" thought to be "Negroes" by many, such as the Bushmen, the Masai, Kushites, Pygmies, even the Bantu, etc., are of "Caucasoid" origins. And while his own account of migrations often contradicts his main thesis, this, I suppose, he dismisses as simply unavoidable. He was at his racist best in a specious and rather amusing argument that attempted to prove that even the Azanians were not Black. Is it not significant that so many white writers spend so much time and energy trying to make this or that person or group non-African?

Certain direct consequences of the migrations will not be fully understood unless the many centuries they slowly covered are kept

in mind. The development and spread of the numerous languages, dialects, separate and independent small city-states from which varieties of culture patterns inevitably emerged—these outcomes highlight the factors of segmentation in the decline of advanced Black institutions. But migrations from the first centers of Black culture in the Sudan and Egypt had beneficial results also.

The migrants were a new kind of missionaries. They carried whatever they could of their advanced civilization wherever they went, and they carried it far and wide. The backward groups that had been living far away from the centers of progress were the beneficiaries. An economic revolution occurred in areas where the Nile migrants not only brought new grain crops but also new implements and farming techniques. They also spread the gospel of industrial production through the expansion of crafts and their organization into guilds. The greatest of these was iron, for iron, all by itself, created the greatest industrial revolution in Africa and became at once both the catalyst and foundation of the new state formations and expansions of power. In like manner, basic African institutions, such as the traditional constitutional and social systems, were reinforced by the migrations from the Heartland. And while many of these basic institutions were influenced and modified by Islam and Christian Europe, they all remained so unyielding at the core that they can be studied today almost as directly as they could have been five thousand years ago. There is another fact in this connection that is not pointed out often and never stressed. We generally speak glibly enough about Asian and Western influence on Black Africa, but seldom about the influence of Africa on Asian and Western institutions. The process of Africanization began at once whenever and wherever the Blacks came in contact with foreign institutions. Both Islam and Christianity had to yield to Africanization. Even autocratic sultans and emirs, all-powerful in Asia, clashed head-on with the constitutional role of the Council in Africa and had to yield. The religions that spread most rapidly and widely were those which were readily adaptable to African cultural patterns. Islam and the Catholic Church led in this, and the Catholic Church outdistanced every other Christian denomination in growth.

A large volume should be written on the African influence on both Asian and Western civilization, since that influence began in ancient times, was not limited to Caucasians on the African con-

continent, but was carried to other lands by migrating whites who themselves had been Africanized. African values did not die even among the millions of slaves who were transplanted in distant lands. In the United States where the system to stamp out every vestige of Black culture was most thorough-going and relentless, African traditions persisted and influenced not only the white slave-owning class, but the course of American civilization itself.

The historical significance of the movement of people, no matter under what circumstances, can hardly be overemphasized.



We have seen how and why the flight of Blacks from the Sudan increased as the Arab hordes continued to sweep in during the 13th century and Islamization was more aggressively pushed. To many Blacks leaving the homeland what was happening was far worse than the sight of their cities, towns and villages going up in flames. For now they saw their very own leaders—kings and other notables—divesting themselves of a tradition of civilization that went back beyond history into paleolithic times and, for expediency or self-interest, were humbly grasping at the robes of the Arabs, their language and their religion. Their leaders on the throne were no longer Africans or Ethiopians. They were now of still another race: They were Black Arabs!

So it did not matter at all that new states were forming under Black Arab rule. The Arabs not only tolerated these Black Muslim rulers (sultans and emirs they were now called) but found it expedient to use them as fronts in controlling the remaining Black population. The real rulers were the various Arab tribes that were now scattered all over the Sudan. There was a great difference between these new Black Muslim states and Funj. For while Funj was also a sultanate in name, it had a long line of Black rulers who steadfastly refused to be Arabized even to the extent of accepting Arabic names; and even the Arab population knew very well that the Muslim religion of those Black sultans was very superficial indeed. The new fringe states of Darfur, Wadai and others under Black Muslims offered no place of refuge for those whose very reason for flight was to maintain their own racial identity, dignity and religion.

THE SAHARAN TRAGEDY

We return to the Sahara again, for here is where the first Black migrations began before written history. "Sahara," or wasteland, indicates what it became, not what it was. It was the largest northern region of *Bilad as Sudan*, the "Land of the Blacks." Viewing this vast area for at least 5,000 years, it is difficult to believe that it was not forever thus.

But the Sahara, far bigger than the United States, was once a land of lakes, rivers, forests, green fields, farms, villages, towns and cities. Wildlife was abundant. Cattle grazed in meadows, and horse-drawn chariots sped over the highways. It was a great land—yet only a part of an even greater Black world.

We have already noted that this Black African world had been under relentless pressures from the seacoasts by invading whites from the earliest times—Canaanites, Hebrews, Phoenicians, Mongols, Arabs, Berbers, Greeks, Romans, *et al.* It was also pointed out that it is not without significance that even today most of the invaders occupy the same areas where they first came in—the seacoasts.

For centuries these whites must have been received with the traditional African hospitality. They were immigrants, settlers and traders. Many, like the early Blacks themselves, were seafaring men. That the Blacks were once among the most adventurous of peoples is evidenced not only by the presence of their descendants in many lands and numerous far flung islands, but also by archaeological remains found in various parts of Europe.

It seems clear, therefore, that the whites were not regarded as invaders with ulterior motives, but as co-partners in the further development of world trade. There was no obvious reason to think otherwise. No particular significance was seen in the fact that the whites always massed along the seacoasts and built their towns and trading-post strongholds there. The Blacks were also in these same coastal areas. There was a general mixing or amalgamation of the races—also, from the earliest times. In this area the offsprings of Blacks and white Berbers and Arabs became known as Moors, Tuaregs, Tippu and the Fulani. Like Afro-Americans, they were of every conceivable complexion, some of the whitest having "Negro blood." The scientists on Africa, however, classify even the dark skinned in these groups as "Caucasoid."

It does not appear that any Black prophets came forth to warn the trusting African people that over three million square miles of their fertile land would be made a vast wasteland by the slowly moving sandstorms from the north, or that, even fleeing, their very lives would likewise be made a vast wasteland by the "white storms" from the seacoast.

The sandstorms, at first, began their long and relentless rampage over hundreds of miles, but only as previous deforesting and the disappearance of grassland made this easy. The desiccation began far back in time, probably during a period well after Quaternary times began. No one knows how long that awful process of drying up lakes and rivers lasted. What is crystal clear is that during the ensuing migrations the Blacks made their greatest and most tragic error. It was an error to be fraught with the direst historical consequences for the whole Black race. Instead of moving *en masse*—to the seacoasts and maintaining the dominant position there—which they could have done easily—they moved *en masse* toward the interior, first to the remaining oases in the desert and then into Northern and Southern Ethiopia (Egypt and the Sudan), and to the south, central and western regions.

The Berbers, Arabs and their Afro-Asian offsprings (Moors, Tuaregs, etc.) now firmly held the entire northern, northwestern and eastern seaboard of Africa. This tremendous victory of the white man was not achieved by conquest. It was achieved by default on the part of a race too preoccupied with the immediate present and less with its future—and a race whose centuries of blind trust in the white man passes all understanding. One might say that in surrendering all of their coastal areas to the Asians and Mulattoes—and apparently without a fight except in the case of Lower Egypt—that the Blacks not only sealed themselves off from world commerce and general international relations, but they also—and at the same time—sealed their own fate to be a surrounded, hemmed-in hunting ground for slaves. The pattern for Egypt and Axum was clear cut. Their story was already outlined early enough and so clearly that even the blind could not be unaware of the shape of things to come. That shape emerged in their present: The whites were aggressive, always relentlessly pushing for the command position in every situation, no matter how small their number or how insignificant the project; the Blacks, by contrast, are not so aggressive, tend toward

the brotherhood approach, and generally strike only in retaliation for prior wrongs done. This over-all humane and essentially religious attitude of the Blacks led Arnold Toynbee to say that mankind may have to emulate them if civilization is to be saved. This is hardly a compliment in a world where the very meaning of civilization is lost. In the face of the Caucasian *will to power* and domination, this religion of meekness is a tacit surrender to the permanent overlordship of the aggressive and the strong. This is the testimony of history. And perhaps this is why I have always been puzzled by the declaration of Jesus Christ that the meek would inherit the earth. Did he mean the grave?

The "pattern" referred to above developed from the fact that countless thousands of Blacks did not migrate anywhere but remained among the Asians. They gradually became the lowest class in the society, although there was some mobility or escape routes. The Berbers and Arabs constituted the upper class and ruling group; next came the Afro-Berbers and Afro-Arabs, (Mulattoes) also classified as White, but in a class below whites; and finally there were the still lower class of Blacks and, strangely enough, all Berbers, Arabs and mixed breeds who chose to cast their lot with the Blacks and share their destiny. I said "strangely enough," but there was really nothing strange about it. It was simply a human situation. A part of the explanation was that out of centuries of intermarriages there had developed a network of family and kinship relationships. But it meant much more than these kinship ties. These whites and half-whites, admittedly a small minority, nevertheless did not have to have themselves classified as Blacks, giving up the open opportunity to direct power, fame and fortune. Like the majority of whites and half-whites with similar ties to the Blacks, they could have easily cut those ties and even denied that any ties ever existed. That was the easy way, the self-serving and expedient way. They refused to take it and chose to share all the hardships of the Blacks. I dwell on this because here we catch a fleeting glimpse of the progress of the human spirit as it emerged on a plane above the rewards of materialism and self-interest. I dwell on it because wherever this small group exists in a world gone mad with greed, there will remain some faint hope for a more humane world in the next 1,000 years.

Social and economic mobility came from the circumstances that the Blacks made up the strongest contingents of the Berber and

Arab armies. Some became commanders, others became chief counsellors to sultans. Most males were castrated, however, or removed from possible contact with all females. An equally significant group was the labor force of enslaved Blacks. These were highly important because they relieved the white Asians from all labor. The Blacks who were skilled craftsmen in various fields fared better since they were generally spared from the whip.

The plight of the Blacks in white dominated areas, including their enslavement, would have been different if the masses had not scattered in small groups over the tractless Sahara, the Nile Valley, Ethiopia and other regions of the continent. The others referred to were the Blacks who remained where they were as their once vast and fertile homeland slowly turned into a Sahara, or wasteland.

Geologists, archaeologists and other specialists have all advanced various theories to explain the great mystery of the transforming Sahara. We need not retell their interesting story here, for every explanation seems to project still another puzzling question (for me, at any rate). For example, just how did the Albion Sea, a vast inland body of water as large as France, disappear in the Sahara? How many cities and towns lie buried under those mountains of sand and rocks?

We know that in a given area all farms, orchards and even villages could be completely covered over with sand in a matter of weeks. The fierce winds whipped up walls of sand and gravel like mountainous ocean waves. Since this region is over 1,000 miles wide and more than 3,000 miles from east to west, most of the people in the interior must have perished with their villages, farms, lakes and rivers. The exceptions were those lucky people whose farms and villages escaped inundation by the moving oceans of sand. In these places of refuge, later called oases, the otherwise indiscriminate forces of death and destruction did indeed discriminate. Sometimes high walls of sand began to pile up just before reaching these sites, leaving them safely in valleys thus formed. These continued to be the centers of life and hope as the years passed on into our own times. And it is not without significance that two-thirds of the Sahara population today is still Black.

Like their ancestors, they continued to be settled communities of farmers and craftsmen—the kind of communities where civilization itself is born. But, also like their ancestors and all other advanc-

ing peoples, they were vulnerable to the widely ranging camel-riding Berber and Arab nomads. These tent-dwelling raiders gained absolute control of all the trans-Saharan trade routes. With their kinsmen in control of all the commercial seaports, they had effective control over the economic life of Africa and, therefore, Africa itself. The matter of making that control more complete by raiding and enslaving the Blacks in scattered oasis communities became relatively easy. Direct contacts with Europe and Asia meant the possession of the latest superior weapons which the Blacks were unable to secure—firearms.

ETHNOLOGY AND THE MIGRATIONS

The great story of the Sahara is yet to be told. Archaeology has hardly scratched the surface beneath which a lost civilization lies buried under several thousand feet of sand and rocks. How far westward did the effective rule of the ancient empire extend? How many kingdoms were there and by what African names were they known? Were the fringe states, such as ancient Ghana, that were found fighting for survival on the edges of the desert once a part of a vast imperial system? There is some evidence that this may have been the case, but the actual fact remains unknown and speculation becomes an idle pastime.

What is known is that the migrations from the Sahara, while heavily concentrated in Upper Egypt and the Eastern Sudan, also spread out over Africa in and through the Western Sudan.

I may seem to have overemphasized the ethnic composition of some migrating groups by repeating reference to it. But it is so important that white historians have bypassed it in order to establish a new theory of prehistoric Caucasian occupation of Africa. Have they not found supposedly 'Caucasoid' remains and artifacts in different places? According to this theory the whites, in their conquest of Africa were simply returning to their own original homeland. But where, now is the homeland of the Blacks? Our "Africanist" experts do not know. Some few, apparently seeing how ridiculous was the corner into which they had painted themselves, suggest that perhaps the Blacks migrated from India—or "somewhere" in Europe!

Others undertake to establish Caucasian priority in Africa by

excavating structures "which no Negroes could have built." An example is a prehistoric site in Uganda. They found what seems to have been a well-built fortification of earthwork, reservoirs, dams for irrigation, trenches and pit dwellings. All this indicated the mass organization and skills of a superior people—such as the Sidamo, for example. "Nowhere in East Africa," the author concludes, "are Negro peoples, either Bantu or Nilotic, known to have built structures even remotely comparable to these."¹ This, like a thousand similar false statements about Africans, requires no answer. The facts now are well known. But let us not miss the central point in all this. The Sidamo people, cited by this anthropologist as the probable builders of those structures, are themselves black Africans—as black and as African as are the anthropologist's "Bantu" and "Nilotic" groups. I have lived among all three groups. Some of the people in each group are of "mixed blood" as a simple matter of course—just as American Blacks are mixed. But in their pathological drive to prevent any concepts of unity from emerging in Africa, Caucasian scholars have been relentless in dividing the Blacks of Africa into numerous ethnic categories. This grand strategy was designed to make each group feel unique, special, and hostile to all other groups. The development of different languages in the scattered and isolated societies was the most favorable situation for the division of the Blacks and the furtherance of hostility among them.

None of this was evil deliberately designed. The writing of the history (or, rather, non-history) of non-Caucasians from a Caucasian viewpoint was a development of relatively recent times. It followed logically from the 19th century theories of social evolution. Racism, the natural by-product, now had a "scientific" basis, and as such became an integral part of education itself. This is why Western anthropologists have played the dominant role in shaping African history which, from their viewpoint, was the study of "primitive peoples." The migrations, as we have seen, served their purpose well.

1. Murdock

THE IMPERIALISTS WITH THE PEN

The picture becomes clear, however, when we know that the "Black" migrations were not always all-black. Some of these were Afro-Asians, some had a few white Asians, other groups were entirely Afro-Berber or Afro-Arab. These often tended to form an independent ethnic group, keeping to themselves. There were also some groups of Berbers and, later, Arabs who migrated from the Sahara to favorable locations in the interior. So, as stated above, since we are here considering the earliest migrations from the Sahara, to find "Caucasoid" remains in any part of Africa today is really without any particular significance. Such finds obviously do not justify the conclusions reached by many writers.

But these experts on Africa are not ignorant of the essential facts and outcomes of migrations. This is certainly true of those who have studied the dispersions and the mixing of peoples over the milleniums. They know, but there is apparently a deeply felt need, an urgent and almost desperate compulsion to justify the power position of the white world over the non-white peoples. That white power is so all-encompassing that the task of Western scholarship, in particular, is easy enough.

First of all, they are not only supported by the almost limitless wealth amassed from the exploited peoples of the earth, but they also still control, directly or indirectly, the economic life of every Black state today. This is equally true of numerous non-African countries—still poor and begging, while their wealth is being drained off to the already rich countries. Secondly, they control world education and science. Scholarship, supported by millions of dollars, far from being independent and "objective," has generally served its masters well, becoming arrogant and overbearing in the process. Their most powerful weapon is a single word—science. Having successfully raised science far above religion in the faith of people generally, they may now present almost any proposition or conclusion as "scientific" and gain wide acceptance. The age has passed when men listened with reverence when it was declared that "*Thus saith the Lord.*" Now one simply has to say, "according to science . . ." or "most scholars are agreed. . . ." etc. Finally, the universities spearheaded the final economic triumph of the West over the rest of the world. Science pushed the partnership

of big corporate wealth and big government into exciting fields of inventions and discoveries. Weapons of universal destruction actually out-distanced the technology of time and space.

Who, then, could question white supremacy? Who dared to challenge viewpoints held by scholars with this awesome array of power behind them? Certainly nothing coming from the Blacks required any serious consideration. The mind transplant had been most successful as an operation on the Blacks.

Having lost the honor of full manhood that comes only from the pride of racial worth and identity, the Black man's mind generally operates favorably toward his white enemies and negatively toward himself and his kind.

No one knows this better than the whites. They have, therefore, had a free and unchallenged hand in reordering the Land of the Blacks as they saw fit, classifying and naming people, places and things just as they pleased. The Blacks were non-persons or nobodies in their own land. From one end of the continent to the other Black youth saw great monuments and statues of Europeans only, European and Arab names for African roads, hills, lakes, towns and cities. One youngster, whose ancestors had migrated from the north centuries ago, stood gazing at a statue of Cecil Rhodes. "He's in our school books too!" he proudly informed his parents. The smile left as he asked, "But why are *our* great men forgotten? We never hear about them." As none could answer, there was silence. This particular group belonged to a family that was 2,000 miles from the known "original" home. This refers to the place that oral tradition declares to be the original home. But we know that the "place of origin" often given in the oral record means the place where the group lived for so many generations that previous homesites during these long drawn-out migrations had been forgotten. What they had forgotten, however, was less tragic than their ignorance of some of the well-known facts of their more recent history as a people. The boy had raised important questions. They could not answer because they are Blacks of Rhodesia. What little history they knew was white Rhodesian history—and this they could learn from Rhodes to Ian Smith. They did not know that they had been living for generations in the center of what was once one of the greatest Black empires in Africa, nor

had they ever heard of the great African leader of that empire, Emperor Mutota. As elsewhere, Rhodesian history began with the coming of the whites. All before that is "unknown pre-history."

TO THE CAVES, TO THE SWAMPS

We have been studying those people who were actually migrating from a highly advanced civilization to less advanced regions or regions not advanced at all, but who continued to rebuild new states until they were destroyed by the European invasions. Since a representative number of these states appear in the following pages, a final word should be said about the vast numbers who found only caves and swamps as places of refuge and, therefore, built no states, but sank lower and lower in hopelessness, ever-present fears of capture, and a life that was not life but an animal-like struggle to survive. I referred to these before, but all too briefly. They are an inseparable part of the history of the race. Their savage state enable us to measure the distance from the heights to the level where so many of the race had fallen; it also may be the bold recognition on our part that serves as a guide-light on the road back to greatness. Call them "savages" if that pleases you. But these were the Blacks in retreat before the slave-hunters. These were the Blacks who had to choose between enslavement for life, and that of all of their descendants, and freedom. They did not hesitate. They chose freedom even though it meant the loss of civilization, a civilization which they had, in fact, already lost. To be slaves of Arabs, Europeans or Americans simply meant becoming the economic foundation of *their* civilization and the steady destruction of the civilization of the Blacks.

So, all hail to the Black "savages"—those noble ancestors who chose both freedom and death in preference to white enslavement! Freedom and death. Once the paths they made in flight could be followed for days by their bloody footprints in the sand. The wind-blown sand had easily covered these up. Later travellers and slave-hunters could determine the various routes of flight by the skeletons found here and there, fallen statues left by those who could not make it on. They were generally disjointed and scattered; sometimes it was a bony arm protruding from the windswept sands,

a leg over there or a skull seeming to smile "peace at last!" The bones of other thousands who died in flight were never seen. They lay buried forever under the tons of sand and rocks that moved over much of the regions.

Masses of Blacks found security in hills that were made inaccessible to both Arabs and Europeans. Such were Blacks who isolated themselves in the strongholds of the Nuba Hills. They were never conquered, throwing back all invading army units that attempted subjugation and enslavement. Westerners point to their primitive state, to their nude and half-nude bodies. To the somewhat twisted Western mind, nakedness in public is indicative of the savage. The "twisted mind" becomes evident when the same people do not find it necessary to explain the universality of white nudist colonies or naked bodies (not to mention sexual intercourse) on public stages and screens. Reference to the Noba people, of course, is simply to give still another example of a people who had to make the grim choice between freedom and slavery—and chose freedom even when that choice meant, isolation and, inevitably, retrogression. Blacks who were among the very first weavers and cloth makers on earth could no longer wear clothes.

These flights before the mighty firepower of the invaders became more general after 1400 A.D., even though guns, after 200 years of development, were still not in widespread use in Africa. Only Europeans and Arabs were able to secure a limited supply of these "precious" and certain-to-conquer weapons. The Blacks had nothing of the kind. Meanwhile, experimentation to improve various types of gunnery and speed up production was frantically pushed. The successful outcome of this great venture in firepower was the prelude to the industrial revolution that was to change not only the material world, but what was left of the humane nature of man himself.

It is not likely that the people were then generally aware that they were being slowly hemmed in from all directions. It is possible that many did "feel" it, without having any exact knowledge of being encircled, although the danger might be several hundred miles away where the hostile seas met the friendly land. So other groups of wandering Blacks headed for dismal swamps, still others dug caves in hillsides. There were those who wandered aimlessly

out into the scorching desert and died with their babies strapped to their backs and larger children clutched by their hands. This means that the bleached skeletons of little babies and children also greeted the eyes as though additional testimony was needed to show how many of the young were included among those who could not make it even to barbarism.

All of those who survived in these various groups ended up in areas where they could do little more than survive. Even if they had not splintered off into small independent societies, famine and disease would have reduced their numbers anyway. Therefore, as noted elsewhere, there were many firmly united groups that were so large that migrating as a single unit was impossible. Here the very circumstances of the case demanded separation, estrangement and isolation from the mother society, and the eventual development of several new language groups. The disunity among the Blacks that spread over the whole race often developed from crisis situations over which they had no control in the awful struggle to survive.

The millions who found security only in places of extreme isolation—in caves, swamps, around a few precious waterholes in deserts and on inaccessible hills—none of these people were favored with the chance even to begin the building of their lost civilization. Far from being ashamed of them as "savages," this chapter is a salute to them, a salute with pride that says to them "all honor and all glory!" Unlike the Blacks we know most about, they could not build great kingdoms and empires. Many were far removed even from the fringes of an advancing world. Yet they overrode the unceasing attacks of both death and hell—and survived. What is more, they held fast the last line of freedom on the African continent, and they held it against cannon fire to the very end. Even when colonialism swept over their land they were never conquered. They had been wise enough to see both Islam and Christianity as just another route to the slavery they had fought and died to avoid—so they remained steadfast in their own religion and, therefore, were called "pagans." But all of their children were born free, none in Muslim or Christian slavery; and their girls were never dragged off to become slaves in the harems of Arabis, or as breeding girls for white men in the West.

Finally, I referred to Blacks who, though forced to move, never left their homeland region. The Noba did not move very far from where they had lived from times immemorial. A far greater number of Blacks held on in their ancient center after it was overrun, refusing either to leave or be enslaved. They stayed and battled against the invaders, finally, being concentrated in the southern provinces of the Sudan where the earlier history of the race in Egypt is still being repeated, line by line. And this is why it is so easy to understand the history of the Blacks and see very clearly how they were not only forced far back behind the advancing races, but also pushed to the lowest levels of degradation. For that history is still being made today—covertly and openly—for all the world to see. The Blacks who are under pressure today in Bahr El Ghazal, Upper Nile and Equatoria are still fighting for survival against the all-conquering Coloured Arabs just as their forefathers fought five thousand years ago from the Mediterranean in Lower Egypt to where they are now making a last stand. Romantic history? Who needs it? They have been massacred by the hundreds and villages left in ashes, but they fight on. This all-black region is kept isolated and cut off from the developments and all of the higher levels of life seen in the Arab-dominated Sudan. So these Southern Sudanese remain (even in 1973) both "primitive" and "pagan," just as their brothers elsewhere had to remain under similar circumstances.

It was still the hunting ground for slaves. The Blacks had to remain sharply alert at all times, for the modern slave traffic is covert, subtle and often highly sophisticated. There are no outright raids. The slave agents may appear as employment officers seeking workers or representatives of schools offering free training for nurses, teachers, and various trades. I was told when I was working in this area that these tactics were successful for a long time because of the extreme poverty and the desperate need for jobs.

The fighting that has been going on constantly for fifteen years has caused the same kind of migrations as most of those already described. Thousands have been migrating into any country that allows them to enter. Even in this modern age many will never see those left behind again. They will scatter and settle among other people wherever they can. They will become "lost" in the merger, while their brothers and sisters stay behind and

carry on the ancient tradition of fighting on against overwhelming odds as long as they can stand.

In this study you must have noticed that the past and present are joined. We study our past for the express purpose of learning what things made the race great in the past, what explains subsequent failures and weakness, and what, in the light of that history, we can do now—if we have the will. This is what the study of history should mean for African people in particular. This chapter on the Migrations, for example, tells us much that is even alarmingly crucial. But how many of us care to grapple with its real significance?

Who asks why is it that the Black world, forever "up-tight" over South Africa and Rhodesia, has remained silent about the 15 years of the slaughter of Blacks in the Sudan? I asked four leaders of the Resistance if the Southern provinces had ever appealed to the Organization of African Unity for help. "We have been begging them ever since it started," was the unanimous reply. "Not for arms, but just to use its influence to stop the burning of our villages and the massacre of our people. But, you see, the white and brown Arabs actually control the policies of the OAU. For us that means that they still control the Blacks of Africa. . . ." Meanwhile, migrants still wander as of old. For them freedom and independence are yet to come to Africa.

... The first, and perhaps the most important fact is that the general enslavement of Africans, proclaimed to the world as savages, began during the very period and in the very West Africa in the center of which one of the great universities of the world and other colleges were located.

—"The Black Revival of Learning," p. 247

CHAPTER VIII

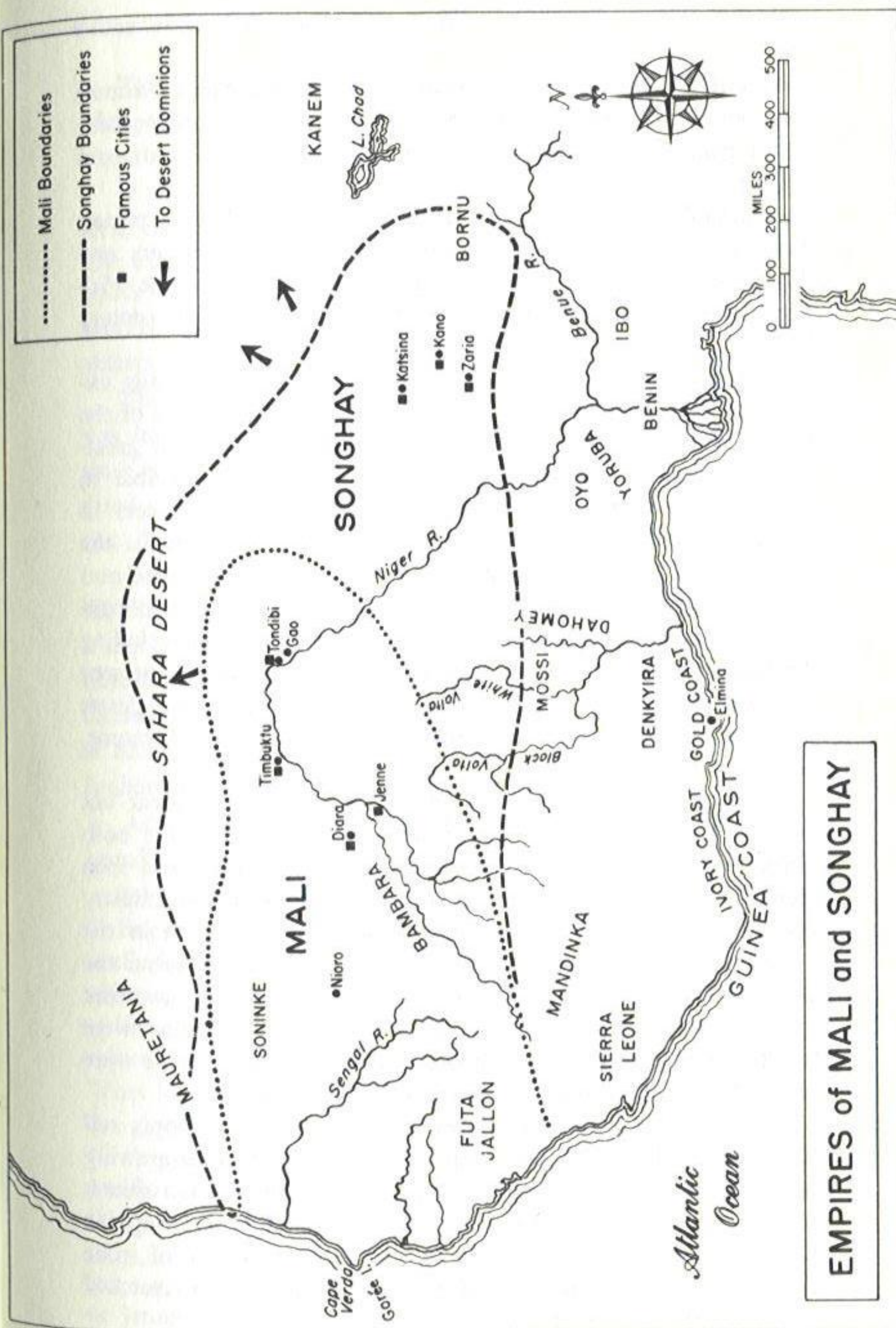
The Resurrection and the Life: Case Studies by States

THEY CALLED IT "GHANA"

ONE BLACK STATE DEFIED THE SLOW ONSLAUGHTS OF the Sahara for over two thousand years, hanging on to its fringes far into historic times—just as though it was determined to let the world actually see how all of its sister states in that vast wasteland had died. Furthermore, its very antiquity and the similarity of its advanced institutions to those of the Ethiopian empire in the east has raised the question of whether it was a western outpost of that empire. There is, of course, no question about the travels of Blacks between the Eastern and Western Sudan.

The "geographers" were among the first foreigners to arrive in the region in the 10th century A.D. The Arab and European practice of naming countries and peoples often displayed both ignorance and arrogance. They did not condescend to inquire of the people about the name of their country or the meaning of the titles they held. So they called this country "Ghana"—which meant the leader, head of the state or, in Western terms, the king.

The people who migrated into the country from all directions had every reason to believe they were far enough into the interior to be free and secure at last in a kingdom that had never been



EMPIRES of MALI and SONGHAY

conquered either by the forces of nature or of men. And its history was long. As citizens, they could help in the further development of the general prosperity and the education which was an integral part of the national program.

Ghana's actual history goes far back beyond its known record. That record listed forty-four kings before the Christian era and this alone would extend Ghana's known history beyond the 25th Dynasty when the last black pharaohs ruled Egypt (7th century B.C.).

Holding on and holding out against a slowly but steadily expanding "ocean of sand," the now three million square miles of the Sahara Desert, it had, nevertheless, reached a high level of greatness in the eleventh century and was an empire comparable to most European states at that time. It surpassed many others in social organization, military power, economic wealth, and in the promotion of higher education.

This African empire had expanded territorially by both conquests and peaceful alliances with neighboring countries, including dependencies such as Sama, Garantel, Gadiaro, Galam (present day Northern Ghana area), Diara, Soso and Tekrur; the desert tribes of Berbers were made tributaries—the Zenaga, Lemtuna, Goddala, Messufa, *et al.*

The empire, known as the "Land of Gold" became great not only because it controlled the greatest source of gold for both Europe and Asia, but also because of its iron mining and iron manufactures for over a thousand years. Leadership in iron industry made her a dominant power over less progressive peoples in the Western Sudan. This status and the mastery of iron also meant the development of a mighty military power, equipped with awesome weapons over which it had a monopoly. These weapons were heralded abroad, striking fear among neighboring states. Some were annexed without resistance, others had to be conquered.

Control of caravan trade routes to the north, east, Ethiopia and Egypt was probably the most important factor in the ever-growing wealth of the nation. There were import and export taxes, a system of weights and measures, and control of inflation by limiting the flow of gold. Kumbi-Kumbi, the capital, was a twin city of stone mansions, temples, mosques, and schools, along with the thatched roof huts of the masses.

The larger towns and cities were generally located on or near lakes, rivers, and lesser streams such as creeks. The Niger, was the most important river for trade, travel and war boats.

It was a mixed economy of agriculture: Wheat, millet, cotton, corn, yams, cattle-raising (cows, horses, goats, camels, and sheep). The iron industry, mining and numerous crafts were organized as guilds: blacksmiths, goldsmiths (jewelers), coppersmiths, stonemasons, brickmasons, water diviners, carpenters, weavers, sandal-makers, dyers, cabinet-makers, furniture makers, and potters.

The soil was more favorable for millet than wheat. Much wheat was imported. Other imports from African countries and abroad were salt, textiles, cowrie shells, brass, dates, figs, pearls, fruit, sugar, dried raisins and honey. The chief exports were gold, ivory, rubber, and slaves. Under the Emperor Tenkamenin the imperial army numbered 200,000 (1060), of which 100,000 were mounted and 40,000 were expertly trained bow and arrow brigades. It was not a standing army; rather, it was somewhat like a National Guard—trained and ready to answer the call when needed, but otherwise following their usual occupations. The most famous schools were at Kumbi-Saleh¹ and Djenne. The world renowned University of Sankore was at Timbuktu (north of Ghana).

All this and much more passed away like a dream. What happened? This was a great civilization. What happened to it? The country and its capital was visited by the great Arab geographer, El Bekri, sometime after 960 A.D. He described a vast country of fertile fields with rivers and lakes, woods, and green plains, of busy villages, towns—and "cities of stone." Yet when Bonnel de Mezieres visited the site of the capital city in 1914, all he saw at first was a level wasteland of rocks and sand as far as the eye could see. What happened to the city of stone? Where were the green fields, the green trees? Where were lakes? And above all, what became of the great Wagadu River that flowed near the capital? How could any of these things ever have been true? If there is any such thing as the unbelievable, here it was. Yet, oral history insisted

1. Also known as Kumbi-Kumbi. Likewise, Djenne is a variation of Jenne.

that this was the area where Ghana's ancient capital city once stood.

So, digging unbelievably, the excavators finally reached and began to unearth the city that had been entombed by the desert sands for centuries, and the very idea that it ever existed had almost been forgotten.

Here then, buried under tons of sand, was the answer to one of the greatest riddles of history. To understand it is to understand one of the most powerful forces in the decline of African civilization, and why so many of the continent's famine-crazed people sank into barbarism and the life of savages. The fall of Ghana's empire was merely a prologue to the fate of the still greater empires of Mali and Songhay that later spread over much of the same area and beyond. The culmination of the process of disintegration was being slowly reached in each of these countries even while they were expanding over vast areas, flushed with all the glories of wealth and power. We might here observe that, nearly a thousand years later, the illusion that *biggness*, wealth, and military power are sufficient to guarantee security and permanence still persists. Indeed, power and wealth tend to make rulers both obstinate and blind in the face of obviously undermining forces.

The destruction of the capital by the Muslims in 1076 and the great migration from the country are *part* of the story; but only a part, because the Muslims did not stay in force. This invasion was simply another major factor in the process of slow disintegration and expedited it. It certainly stepped up the mass flights of Ghanaians southward into the forests and to the Coast.

A second factor that affected the stability and growth of the country was the continuous raids by the Semitic nomads of the desert (bear in mind that some of the attacking nomads were tributary subjects), mostly Berbers and Arabs.² The aims were booty and destruction, not conquest and settlement. The desert people hated settled, civilized life, regarding it as feminine. The raiders appeared suddenly in surprise attacks and disappeared as suddenly. Settled communities were deserted and migrations de-

2. A reminder: "Berbers" and "Arabs" generally included black Africans, Afro-Berbers and Afro-Arabs—all converted to Islam. The most fanatical Muslims were often the Blacks and Mulattoes.

veloped *en masse*. The refugee movements *within* the country created internal tensions and conflicts, while movements *from* the country further weakened it. A chain reaction set in, and some of the internal causes of conflict and disintegration may be noted as follows:

1—Dissatisfaction with a central government that tended progressively to undermine the traditional constitutions of both the *parent-nuclear* state and of the formerly independent states which now made up the empire.

2—The desire for independence on the part of these states, or more security in an alliance with some other seemingly rising power, such as Mali.

3—Hard times. Drought leading to famine was becoming more frequent, almost a permanent condition. Farming, the occupation of the masses, was becoming too difficult to support life as the soil itself was dying.

4—The decline of trade. Stepped-up Arab-Berber raids on caravan trails, the life line of the empire.

5—Failure to capture Wangara gold mines, leaving the state in the now precarious position of a dependent middleman.

6—Civil strife over successions to throne. The ruling class had become Muslim, introducing revolutionary changes in traditional constitutional practices.

7—Weak leaders on both local and national levels. Wisdom, courage and ability were no longer tests for high office.

8—Religious conflicts. Muslim kings versus non-Muslim masses. This meant war on time-honored religious beliefs and practices. The African masses, of course, were regarded as "infidels," but the ruthless program of forced conversions to Islam failed as more and more of the people fled the country. Islam eventually triumphed over this whole area, which is today what was French West Africa.

9—The increasing death of the soil: deforestation, erosion, and the uninhibited southward movement of the Sahara. The gradual drying up of streams and sinking of lakes and rivers were death knells for a civilization that was already decaying for reasons which I have just outlined.

10—Changes in climate: The quick evaporation of rainfall, leaving the soil as dry and thirsty as ever. Maurice Delafosse, in his *Negroes of Africa*, declared: "The region where Kumbi was built is now very arid. In truth it rains here every year, but there are (now) no rivers; and except at a few points where pools and sheets of not very deep subterranean water exist, the vegetation, although fairly thick in spots, is reduced to thin pasturage, gum trees and other spiny bushes (halogen). The region contains no villages, and is traversed only by nomadic Moors and hunters of the Nemadi . . . tribe. But very numerous and extended traces of former habitations and burial places which turn up at every instant, show that the country was formerly inhabited, in part at least, by sedentary peoples, and lead us to suppose that it was better watered than it is today and more suitable for tillage. Besides, Bekri speaks of vast and prosperous fields which extended to the east of Ghana the Capital City and local traditions are unanimous in attributing the decline of the kingdom and the dispersion of its inhabitants to the drying up of the Wagadu and consequent famine. . . ."

This early conclusion by Delafosse with regard to the reasons for the disappearance of one highly civilized African state has not only been confirmed by later investigations, but the same major factors explain the collapse of other African states.

MALI

Mali was the second of the "Great Three" West African empires that became well known in the medieval world. Although its history has been traced back to paleolithic times through rock paintings, carvings and other archaeological finds, such as the "Asselar man" in 1927, the empire rose in the 13th century with the decline of Ghana.

Kangoba was the small kingdom of the Mandinka people on the southern border of Ghana near the mouth of the Niger River. It was a tributary state and held the strategic trading position of dominance over the gold mines of both Wangara and Boure.

Among the contestants for succession to the disintegrating empire of Ghana were two of its rebelling provinces, Kaniaga and Diara. These were overcome by the nearby Kingdom of Tegrur

under the leadership of Sumanguru, who succeeded in capturing the capitol of Ghana, Kumbi Saleh, in 1203. He undertook the task of rebuilding the empire, proved to be unequal to it, and was defeated by the Mandinka king, Sundiata, at the historic Battle of Kirina in 1240. The battle's outcome was the beginning of the Malian Empire. Under the Emperors Sundiata Keita and Mansa Uli there was systematic reorganization and consolidation of the former empire and expansion beyond it; so that when Mansa Musa came to the throne in 1312 he had a solid foundation upon which to build what was to become one of the greatest empires of the time, and to be recognized as such around the world.

But two things should be noted here. The first is that both Ghana and Mali included strong Arab-Berber tribal states under their rule. Most of these were united desert societies. They occupied the surrounding strategic points of power: They were able to harass and raid the great caravans conducting the vast import and export trade of the black states across the Sahara. The armed escort guards were powerless against them because they could throw a mile long caravan into disarray and confusion by the tactics of sudden attack and withdrawal, attack and withdrawal until the heavily laden fleets were at their mercy. These caravan trails, the life lines of empires, were regularly under attack or threatened. One solution of the problem, it was believed, was for Black kings to become Muslims. Embracing Islam became not merely a policy of expediency wherever Arab and Berber Muslims gained a dominant foothold in Black Africa, but it became a compelling means to economic survival. The Muslims not only controlled the all-important caravan trails, but all African ports of trade with the world. The fact that many of the desert tribes were nominally a part of the empire, or tributaries to it, made matters worse. Pretending to be loyal to the emperor when this served their purpose, they could play it both ways. They, therefore, always had their separate communities in the capital city and all important trading towns. As Muslim "brothers," they secured important posts in the government. "Protected" caravans moved unmolested. What it means is that the "loyal" Arabs, as advisors to the king, were in a position to collect tribute from him to pay off potential raiders. Here, as elsewhere, "brotherhood" and "integration" were

most beneficial—for the whites even when they were in a politically subordinate status.

The second important fact to be noted is that the Arab-Berber position near and within the empire was the base from which the fanatical Almoravides spread the Islamic religion in West Africa with an uncompromising aggressiveness unmatched in the history of religion. Their proselytising brotherhoods were camps of militant missionaries. They were hostile to the Black masses because the masses actively resisted conversion to Islam. Here, again, may be an example of why so many Africans and, especially Afro-Americans, think of Arabs as "Coloured people"; for the well-known Almoravides were indeed predominantly Mulatto.

Strong Black Muslims kings protected their people. Baranmindanah was the first Mansa (king) of Mali to embrace Islam in 1050 A.D. He urged that all succeeding mansas do the same. (Arabic historians, therefore, list him as the first king of Mali. The history of the country began with Islam and the pilgrimages to Mecca—another aspect of the "blackout.") The emperor-kings who came after Baranmindanah did indeed become Muslims, mainly for reasons mentioned above. Some became as fanatic as any of the semi-barbarous Almoravides of the deserts. Such was the great Mari Jalak, known to fame as Mansa Musa. It appears that his driving ambition was to be known, world wide, as the greatest Black Muslim in all Africa. He succeeded, and it paid off on all fronts except among the masses of common people.

International trade now moved freely in all directions over the caravan trails. Between 1307 and 1332 Mali evolved from an expanding kingdom to an expanding empire. It extended north over the desert, extending its authority over the all-important salt mines of Taghaza; eastward it reached the Hausa States of Nigeria, and westward it covered the strong Tegrur and the countries of the Fulani (Afro-Berber) and Tucolor peoples. The remarkable expansion of Mali meant the remarkable expansion of Islam in the Western Sudan, and in countries outside of the empire. The spread of Islam replaced African traditional laws. The Koran was now the constitution. All this made for increased internal discord, rebellions by conquered groups, and migrations from the country.

Here we have to remind ourselves that we cannot have it both ways: Many of the Black kingdoms and empires about which we

sing with pride became great by riding roughshod over other Black states and people; and thus sowing even more seeds of hate to grow among Black generations still unborn.

The decline did not begin until after 1400 when, under weaker successors, the Ghana story of internal disunity and strife repeated itself. After 1550 Mali as an empire was little more than an inspiring memory. There followed the usual array of numerous small and "independent" states, each ripe for easy conquest by a stronger power.

Islam was that power. It continued to spread as various Black rulers followed the example of Mansa Musa and became Muslims. Just as Mali had spread over the former Ghana empire, Songhay was to spread over Mali.

SONGHAY

It is almost like retelling the story of Ghana and Mali. The Songhay people were the nuclear group that was to build their name to the greatest African empire of the 15th and 16th centuries. Their small state, with its capital at Kukya, was east of the Niger River bend between Gao and Agadis. Its history under a long line of dias (kings) can be traced back to the 7th century. The 16th ruler, Dia Kossoi, was crowned at Gao early in the 11th century and the capital moved there. The capture of that city-state from the Sorko people in the 7th century was the early beginning of Songhay expansion.

The Songhay were one of those unique peoples who as a whole can be characterized as highly intelligent, industrious and aggressively invincible both as traders and warriors. With the capture of Gao their success was assured, for this was the important caravan center for international trade. It dominated the commerce of the central regions of the Western Sudan, controlling the flow of gold and ivory from the southern forests and the precious salt trade from the Taghaza mines in the northern desert. This was an intolerable situation for the still powerful Mali. Therefore in 1325 Mansa Musa sent several divisions under his ablest generals to bring Gao and other Songhay territories within the empire. The defeated Songhay pretended loyalty and whole-hearted allegiance to the Mali empire while busily rebuilding and reorganizing their

armies and political structure. They discontinued the rule of the dias in 1335 and started a new leadership with the kingly title of sunni.

The second sunni of the new line, Sulieman-Mar, was able to break away from Mali and declare Gao independence in 1375—just fifty years after being under the empire's rule. There followed a long period of relative calm and inaction. The record indicates that the fortunes of the nation rose or fell according to the character of the leadership.

So it was that rapid expansion in all directions was resumed when Sunni Ali, perhaps the greatest of Songhay emperors, came to the throne in 1464. He became a nominal Muslim for the same economic reasons that influenced other Black kings: The Muslims not only controlled trade with Asia and Europe, but they also dominated trading activities in towns and cities through resident merchants. The wealth of the nation depended very largely on cooperation with them. The African people, on the other hand, were generally anti-Islam. The problem of all African kings was how to be a Muslim without alienating the people. Sunni Ali was powerful enough to play it both ways. It became clear to the Arabs and Berbers that his real loyalty was to the traditional religion of the Africans. They never forgave him. However, at the close of his 35 years of leadership as a great general and statesman in 1492 the Songhay empire rivaled that of Mali in wealth and territorial expansion. The two principal seats of learning, Timbuktu and Jenne, had been included in Songhay's northward and westward sweep. It was at Timbuktu that two of the great African writers of the period wrote their famous histories in Arabic. *Tarikh al Fattash*, by Mahmud Kati, and *Tarikh Al Sudan*, by Rahman as Sadi. The most famous African scholar during this period of Songhay's intellectual flowering was the biographer and lexicographer, Ahmad Babo,³ born in 1526. They all wrote in Arabic—just as Black Americans all write in English—and for the same reasons.

3. Some writers, including E. W. Bouil, classify him as Berber or Afro-Berber.

THE BLACK REVIVAL OF LEARNING

Songhay's greatness was due to something more than the remarkable expansion of its empire over a territory larger than the continent of Europe. That was great, but greater by far was the grand scale on which the revival of learning spread among the Blacks of West Africa—The Western Sudan, or "Land of the Blacks." Three of the principal centers of learning were at Jenne, Gao, and Timbuktu. At the head of the educational system at Timbuktu was the world famous University of Sankore, drawing students from all West Africa and scholars from different foreign countries. It was especially noted for its high standard of scholarship and, therefore, exacting admission requirements (about which there were some complaints).

The University structure consisted of a (1) Faculty of Law, (2) Medicine and surgery, (3) Letters, (4) Grammar, (5) Geography, and (6) Art. (Here "Art" had to do with such practical training as manufacturing, building, and other allied crafts. After the basic training the expertise required was through the traditional apprenticeship system in the various craft guilds).

There were thousands of students from all parts of West Africa and other regions. We have no record of the exact number. The accounts also mention the large number of scientists, doctors, lawyers and other scholars at the University without giving the exact number—perhaps not considered necessary in the 15th and 16th centuries.

And there is something else that simply had to exist underneath this University system for which there is no record, account, or even a passing reference. This was the West African elementary and secondary school system without which there could not have been a University of Sankore with such high standards for admission.

As we have shown, the Muslim religion and its Arabic language had spread over much of West Africa, and had been embraced particularly by Black rulers, notables and merchants, along with the immediate followers of all of these. The masses held on to the African religion, although thousands of these also found it expedient to pass as Muslims in towns and cities.

The Arabic language, unlike any other in the world, had a

three-way advantage in its spread. Like Latin in Europe at the time, it was the language of religion and learning; but unlike Latin, Arabic was also the language of trade and commerce. This last use made it more widespread among the Blacks than it would have been otherwise. Arabic, therefore, was the language used by Black scholars in West Africa whether they were Muslims or not. But the study of the Islamic Koran, law and literature was at the core of the University's curriculum. And all this made the widespread revival of learning in Africa appear to be an entirely Muslim affair. The fact is that the thirst for learning was so compelling that the introduction of any written language after the loss of their own native writing was welcomed as a godsend. To be able not only to read and write again, but also to advance to higher education was far more important to Africans than the vehicles of religion as media, whether Muslim or Christian in orientation. For the Muslim and Christian missionaries religion was the main objective; but for most Africans education was the main objective.

It may not be without significance that the renaissance in Africa occurred at the same time it developed in Europe—between the 15th and 16th centuries, and that both in Europe and Africa Islamic sources were the catalysts. For the Arabs, like the early Greeks, had advanced their civilization by systematically drawing heavily on the cultures of pre-existing civilizations with which they came in contact as they spread out from the deserts of Arabia to distant lands. They enriched and expanded their own language in a well organized enterprise in copying the most important literature they could find. The most important classical manuscripts had disappeared from Europe entirely during the so-called "Dark Ages." The only sources extant were those copied and preserved by the Arabs—and without which, "scholars generally agree," the great European Renaissance could not have occurred.

In this region of Africa, as elsewhere wherever Asian and European influence prevailed, the destruction of Black Civilization was real, not imaginary. But in this widespread destruction something was generally missed—enough to give posterity a clear idea of the state of things which were. So of the period only three, great Black writers escaped the "Blackout"—Mahmud Kati, Rahman es Sadi, and Ahmad Babo.

Who were the others? Babo, the last Black President of the

University of Sankore, tried to tell us in his series of biographies. But these, too, were destroyed along with forty other works of which he was the author. There seems to be no question at all about Babo being the greatest and most prolific African writer and scholar in the 16th century. Perhaps "African" should be dropped here, for who else, Asian or European, authored a comprehensive dictionary and forty other works during this period? His fame as a scholar-educator spread to distant lands.

In the Muslim destruction of the Songhay empire, the main centers of learning with all of their precious libraries and original manuscripts were destroyed first. Then the age old practice of seizing all men of learning and skilled craftsmen for enslavement and service to the conquerors. Foremost among those captured and carried off to the Magreb was Ahmad Babo. There he was treated as an honored guest and instructed to use his great learning in the service of his conquerors, the Moors.

Now, again, just who were the Moors? The answer is very easy. The original Moors, like the original Egyptians were Black Africans. As amalgamation became more and more widespread, only the Berbers, Arabs and Coloureds in the Moroccan territories were called Moors, while the darkest and black skinned Africans were called "Black-a-Moors." Eventually, "black" was dropped from "Blackamoor." In North Africa—and Morocco in particular—all Muslim Arabs, mixed breeds and Berbers are readily regarded as Moors. The African Blacks, having had even this name taken from them, must contend for recognition as Moors.

We do not know whether Babo continued to write and publish any more books during the remaining years of his captivity in Morocco, as indeed we are ignorant of even the titles of the forty books he is known to have written. But suppose just four or five of his works had escaped destruction and came down to us! Or even just *one*. And yet we are only considering what the African race has lost from just one man, and not the countless others whose very names were erased along with their works. It should be needless to point out in this connection that just as Blacks profit from the best works by white scholars, whites can and do profit from the contribution of Blacks to the advancement of knowledge. Therefore, the destruction of Babo's works and those of other Blacks was the destruction of an essential part of world civilization.

In considering the flowering in learning in West Africa and its brutal interruption by the Moors, certain important facts should stand out because they run through the entire field of Black history.

The first, and perhaps the most important fact is that the general enslavement of Africans (proclaimed to the world as savages) began during the very period and in the very West Africa, the center of which held one of the great universities of the world and other colleges.

The second important fact is that Black Muslims were not spared from destruction by non-black Muslims.

The third all-important fact was the non-enslavement of Mulattoes and their classification as "white," Egyptians and Moors. This crucial fact must not be glossed over, as it has been throughout our history, first, because there were many tribes or societies in Africa which were exclusively Mulatto (to use the term loosely). Nothing was more characteristic of the mixed breed clans, tribes or societies than their unceasing efforts to emphasize their separate identity, and their constant fear of being considered "Negroes" or Black Africans. Hence, their overanxious crusades or *jihads* against Black states and their spearheading most of the slave raids in Africa. They further emphasized their "ethnic difference" by always retaining thousands of Black slaves in their own service, while selling the others. The white man, by driving his offsprings as a wedge into the Black race is not only able to keep it weak by keeping it divided, but he is able to maintain effective control over it without the necessity of his own presence. The most murderous of the Mulatto slave traders was Tippu Tib, with his slave empire headquarters on Zanzibar. His slave trails extended in every direction from the East Coast far into the interior where white slave traders feared to go. But Tib's agents and slave caravan leaders were generally Coloured like himself. And since Black slave armies were always both the backbone and spearhead in European and Arab adventures, the record should be clear in identifying *all* of the participants in the slave-hunting crusades in Africa.

There were, therefore, more significant factors in the destruction of this larger-than-Europe Songhay empire and its advancing edu-

cational system than is evident from a summary statement that it was "destroyed by the Moors."

THE BLACK MUSLIM TRIUMPH AND THE END

Sunni Ali was succeeded by Sunni Baru in 1492. He refused to compromise with Islam at all, defended the African religion, and thereby lost the support of the towns and cities which were the centers of Muslim power. He was deposed after a year, thus paving the way for Sunni Ali's chief minister, greatest general, and most ardent and sincere Black Muslim, Muhammad Ture. He became emperor in 1493, with the military title of Askia. He matched Sunni Ali not only by reigning thirty-five years, but by extending the empire eastward over the Hausa States across Northern Nigeria, northward over the Sahara beyond the Taghaza salt mines, and westward to the Atlantic Ocean. He had earned the name by which he is best known, Askia the Great. At the age of 80 he was deposed by his eldest son in 1528 and died ten years later. His successors were generally weak and had short reigns.

Weak leaders and short reigns led to internal conflicts and social, political and economic disorganization. These conditions were signals for revolts by conquered states and attacks by others. In 1582 the Hausa States regained independence and within a few years the Mossi States renewed their attacks. The Sultan of Morocco, Mulay Ahmad, now saw his opportunity to capture the salt mines of Taghaza and the gold of Songhay. Armed with guns and cannons—then unavailable to African armies—the Moroccans met the Army of Songhay under Askia Issihak at Tondibi, 1594. Spears and arrows had to give way to gunfire. Thereafter the Songhay forces split up into small units to harass enemy garrisons and outposts in surprise attacks. These attempts to dislodge the invaders lasted over 70 years. But the Songhay of glorious memory was no more. The armies of Islam continued their triumphant march in Africa, destroying its basic institutions wherever they could do so.

THE REMARKABLE MOSSI

They never called it an "empire." They called it the "Mossi States." We let it go at that. But it was, in fact, an empire if the same definition is applied as it is in other areas of the world. It was a union of kingdoms, similar to other core groups whose expansionist proclivities create empires. It differed markedly in the pattern of centralized authority. The traditional African political system of local autonomy was maintained in the independence of the individual states that made up the empire. There were five "core" kingdoms—Wagadugu, Yatenga, Fada-Gurma, Mamprussi and Dagomba. Each had become a kingdom independently of the others, each as powerful as the other; therefore, the union of these states was inspired by the bonds of kinship—a common Mossi origin.

Although located southward between the great arms of the Niger river and almost surrounded by the expanding empires of Mali and Songhay, neither was able to subdue and bring the Mossi within their empire. Quite the contrary, with the greatest and most dashing cavalry forces in Africa, the Mossi carried the war to them.

The Mossi nation is another case-study because it is also a typical example of migrating Blacks who united to form new and larger political entities, conquered the people whose homeland they invaded and, at the same time, showed wide cultural variations while holding steadfastly to the fundamentals of African constitutional principles. They were reflected not only in the political organization of African states, but also in the conquerors' respect for the land rights of those whose original homeland it was. In short, the rights of conquest did not include ownership of the land—a fundamental constitutional principle.

I have emphasized the difference between two main types of migrations: The slow and almost leisurely movements of people over countless centuries because of the no longer tolerable conditions of climate and soil; and the stepped up migrations, amounting to refugee flights, because of increasing invasions from Asia and Europe. It is these latter causes with which we are now dealing. They increased as the Arabs overran the Eastern Sudan, and became a period of crisis between the 12th and 17th centuries. This was the long period during which migrating Blacks undertook to form new and stronger states all over the continent—and succeeded,

while other refugee Blacks found themselves in areas where just to survive at all required all the energy they could muster from day to day. Progress? What progress? How progress?

Blessed, then, were the migrants who, unlike those, found territories where progress was possible. Blessed were the Mossi. By 1500 they had become a dominant power and one of the most industrious nations of the period. Africa-wide concept of the basis for legitimate rule was held to as a means of social control and national unification as well as the basis for all authority, high or low. As elsewhere, it all traced back to the founders of the nation, in this case Ouedraogo and Oubri. They had the *Nam*—the God-given power to lead men. All of their descendants should inherit this power and, therefore, inherit the right to rule. Implicit in this, or certainly in the ideas developed from it, was the right to conquer and rule. The idea of royalty evolved from the same source, further illustrating how a fact and a commendable idea, such as honoring the founders of a nation, may be elaborated through time to a grand old myth. But in Mossiland the *Nam* seems to have been carried to extremes. Everyone seeking recognition or even a minor office claimed to have the *Nam*. This bestowed the title of Naba (ruler) So-And-So.

The extent to which the political structure was based upon the *Nam* made Mossi society somewhat unique among African states. Since the nabas of the five core states claimed equality and were all fiercely independent in both spirit and action, the early contests were over what state should become the leader of them all and provide the Mogho Naba (King of Kings). Wagadugu finally won, although it was not senior in the *Nam* line of descent. It won because it had become the center of economic activity and, therefore, national prosperity, and because the Wagadugu people outdid themselves in screaming praise and praise songs for their Naba, who was the "Ruler of the Whole World," his dominions were boundless, he was God's son and, therefore, sacred; no one must look upon his face, all must prostrate themselves before him . . . supreme justice can be found only in our Mogho Naba—all of which was too much for the other states to overcome. The Wagadugu Naba thus became the Mogho Naba of the united Mossi kingdoms, principalities and chiefdoms, each of which was virtually autonomous. The Mogho Naba had no real authority outside his own Wagadugu

kingdom. Unity was achieved through negotiations, friendly persuasion or, all else failing, sometimes by force of arms. More national unity seems to have been achieved, however, because the various states voluntarily followed the successful example of Wagadugu in social, economic and political organization, and the ritualistic splendor of a court that claimed rulership of the world.

The political structure did not vary from the traditional African constitutional system: The village chief and council, district chief (naba) and council, province governor (Naba) and council, and Mogho Naba and council. The Ouidi Naba (prime minister) was next in authority under the Mogho Naba. Each important minister in the national government was also the Naba (governor) of a province—another variation from traditional practice.

There were other variations. Some were highly important. One was the Minister of Muslims. For, unlike so many other African societies, the migrating Mossi had learned something from the history of the Blacks in their relations with Arab and Berber peoples. No foreigners could settle in Mossi territory. But since the Mossi themselves were great traders, they needed the far-flung outlets which the Muslims everywhere controlled. Muslim traders were therefore admitted into the country under the strict supervision of the Ministry for Muslims. All Muslim activity was restricted to trade. The religion of Islam was rejected, its teaching or conversions to it forbidden. In short, the Mossi saw Islam and Christianity as the white man's vehicles of conquest. It was the only Black nation to see this—in time. Indeed, Mossi prophecy held that when the first white man appeared in the land the nation would die.

That time had not yet arrived. The Mossi policy of excluding whites or rigidly limiting the number and controlling their activities in the country further illuminates an African experience that is already so clear that it should require no additional light: All African states that began to develop again after the great dispersions, rebuilding and expanding, were prosperous and advancing *as black states* as long as they barred the relentless, aggressive whites from their countries; and their destruction became certain only when they abandoned this policy and let the Asians and Europeans in. On this the record is entirely clear. The Mossi held on steadfastly to their own African religion and African institutions and survived

over five hundred years—survived into the 20th century until it was finally overrun by France.

A few more of these all-African institutions should be mentioned to further frustrate the "external influence" school. We are dealing with a land and a people where a white face would have been a curiosity, and white influence, even under the disguise of religion, was barred by law.

* * *

Few things could be more remarkable in the history of the Black people than the rigid adherence to a body of principles that indicates a humane and spiritual level of advancement that pointed the direction to real civilization. One of these was reflected in the Mossi Conquerors' recognition of the principle that no matter how powerful the conquerors of a territory might be, the land belonged to the people whose homeland it was. They were recognized as the "rightful owners of the land" and, therefore, negotiations for settlement of newcomers were carried on with the chiefs or "priests of the earth" who represented the indigenous people.

Their political system, highly democratic, was unsurpassed by any state anywhere in the world. That system was developed by Africans. The family was the smallest socio-economic and political unit. The extended family council, for example, settled all cases involving offenses by members which affected only the family or were not serious enough to be carried to the village court. Bad behavior by one member was a reflection on the rest of the family. The Western creed of fierce individualism had no place in the society. What one did was either a credit to his family or a dishonor.⁴

The village was the next political unit, with an elected headman and a Council of Elders. The elders were the representatives of the various family sections or wards that made up the village. The village council was the center of authority, subject to the will of the community. The districts were the next and larger divisions,

4. Even the author is annoyed by the number of inescapable repetitions which occur in any comparative study of a representative sample of societies or states, where the focus is on the common origin, *sameness*, and universality of all basic institutions. The description of these, state by state, means repetition after repetition.

varying in size, and having many villages and towns. The district Naba (chief) was a very important official. Any number of districts made up the provinces and kingdoms which formed the nation. The great Nanamse (plural for Naba) headed provinces and kingdoms. All had governing councils. All, from the village chief to the King of Kings (Mogho Naba), were elected by their respective councils and subject to their will. This latter fact was generally well disguised by ceremonial phraseology, ritual and autocratic sounding decrees from the throne. Indeed, it was a general practice for both the council ministers and the people to proclaim that the Mogho Naba has all power, is the "most powerful king in all the world—over which he rules." These fictions seem to be one of the delights of the people. For did not these same fantastic claims help to make the Wagadugu Naba the Mogho Naba? Indeed, during the periods African societies were most democratic every effort seems to have been made to make it appear that the supreme power was exercised by the rulers, never by the people. Upon the death or removal of the Mogho Naba, for example, there was the constitutional fiction that his successor must be chosen by the Ouidi Naba (Prime Minister). And the Ouidi Naba made the public proclamation with all the ceremonial pomp and splendid ostentation befitting one charged with such an awesome responsibility as that of naming the next emperor. Yet everyone knew very well that the Ouidi Naba was merely announcing an election that had already been made by the Council of State.

In addition to these councils on various local levels, the Mossi developed another way of controlling the behavior of rulers. This was the practice of moving from one unsatisfactory village or district to a more favorable one. Whole villages might move from one district to another. No district chief could afford this direct reflection on his ability to "keep the people"⁵—the most important of his inauguration oaths—it also tended to undermine the economy of his area.

The question of absolutism in traditional Africa is interesting because it so often means the very opposite of what is understood by the term in Asia and the West. In seven different societies cover-

5. An African leader's oath to "keep the people" meant protecting and promoting the welfare of the people.

ed in my field studies in different regions, all declared that their traditional kings had "absolute powers" as rulers. Follow-up analysis revealed that what was meant was that the chiefs or kings had "absolute power" to carry out the clearly understood will of the people—which, of course, is a far cry from self-assumed absolutism. There was no absolutism in Western terms: Even Shaka of the great Zulu empire complained because the council failed to check him in his excesses. He expected some control and guidance. This control was not attempted by a council overawed by his greatness as a leader. As indicated elsewhere my studies show that factors such as the Zululand situation help to explain the decline of ancient African democratic systems. Asia and Europe were not responsible for everything that happened adversely.

The Mossi became the outstanding horse breeding country. The finest, swiftest breeds became their specialty. It was probably from this fact that they had dashing cavalry forces that so often carried them to victory and protected their land from conquest for over 500 years. There was a great outside demand for Mossi horses and donkeys. These became an important factor in one of the most economically advanced countries in Africa. We turn next to their economic enterprise and the prosperity that flowed from it as still another illustration of what Black people can do on their own initiative without the aid of or even having seen a white man.

• • •

It was a basically farming society. A superficial, or even a non-expert look at the reddish-brown soil would lead one to think that this would or could not be a land for a flourishing agriculture. It gave the lie to my description of what in appearance seemed to be unproductive land in other parts of the continent—hard brown soil, robbed of its top soil and moisture. Here in the Mossi States just about everything grew—cotton, millet, wheat, corn, peppers, yams, rice, peanuts, kola nuts, onions, tobacco, etc. Their industries included tanning, fine leather works, cloth making, basketry, straw hats, iron, lead and antimony, and copper ware, mats, jars, pots, pans, soap and dried fish.

All of this production meant that the six caravan routes that crisscrossed the country were the highways for a thriving export

and import trade. They imported salt, coffee, tea, perfumes, carpets, fine robes and other things needed, such as needles, which they themselves did not produce. Cotton and cotton cloth seem to lead in the Mossi export trade for a very long time. Honey was also an important part of the market trade, but I do not know whether it was found wild in abundance or was derived from a cultivated beehive industry.⁶

There were taxes levied on all trading transactions, on caravan transports through the country to other lands, and on foreign traders in the local markets throughout the country. The people paid an "income tax" in the form of a percentage of farm produce at harvest time or other commodities.

The Europeans had been hearing about this prosperous land that barred the whites from entering since the 15th century. Attempts had been made by various European "travelers and traders" to get inside this interior country for several centuries. All without success. Some sought permission just to pass through. But again without success. Even the usual white strategy of contacting and forming friendly relations with possible heirs to the throne and dissident factions did not succeed, even though Arabs and Europeans were increasingly based in all the surrounding countries during the 19th century. It was during the 19th century, however, that the Mossi exclusion of foreigners became less rigid, and there began a gradual relaxation of restrictions, especially of Muslim traders. Some were allowed to settle. And while it is true that the vanguard were Black Muslims from the now wholly Islamized neighboring Black states, they paved the way and made it smoother for their white Muslim brothers. Moreover, an increasing number of young "modern" Mossi leaders began to consider the age-old policy of excluding whites as unenlightened, if not downright uncivilized. What did a great military power—the greatest in Africa—have to fear from a few white faces in the land? But what about the *Great Prophecy*—the prophecy that when the first white man appeared in the land the nation would die? Nothing in Mossiland was better known and more universally believed than this prophecy. It was backed up because early Africans regarded white as evil in itself. Still the young moderns could declare the prophecy to be

6. I received conflicting answers to this question.

"just another old saying," manifestly untrue, because some Arabs had been admitted into the country long ago and the nation still lived, stronger than ever. So it seemed.

Meanwhile, Europeans were closing in on the continent and had the Mossi States surrounded—the British on the Gold Coast and in Ashanti to the south, the Germans next door in Togoland, while the French were pressing down from the north and the Ivory Coast on the west. All had their agents busily gathering as much data as they could about this powerful and "overly proud" Black nation. At first these agents had to operate from the outside—Dupuis from Ashanti, Koelle from Sierra Leone, and Krause from Togoland. There were many others. Krause, a German in Togoland, was supposed to be the first European to slip into the country with a caravan.

The Great Prophecy was now about to be fulfilled—almost precisely. The first white European had entered the country. The next white man came in boldly in 1888, backed by the supreme powers of the French Empire (albeit called a Republic). This emissary of conquest was Louis Binger. He came to place the country "under the protection of France." He met a strong leader, still ready to fight, in the Mogho Naba Sanum. He rejected the proffered French protectorate as a ruse for conquest, resented Binger's haughty and disrespectful attitude, and ordered him out of the country at once. The Mogho Naba knew that at that very moment German troops were marching toward his borders. Binger's real importance in the history of the African people, however, was his reaffirmation of the white man's unchanging attitude toward the Blacks. Said he, "I feel that a white man traveling in this country, whoever he may be, should not prostrate himself before a black king, however powerful the latter may be. (He was not expected to do this.) It is necessary that a white man should inspire respect and consideration wherever he goes. *They should come as masters* (italics added), as the *superior class of the society*, and not have to bow their heads before indigenous chiefs to whom *they are definitely superior in all respects.*"⁷ In short, and in even plainer language, the lowest white scum of Europe, the most depraved, are, nevertheless, the superiors of the greatest black kings.

7. Quoted in E. P. Skinner, *The Mossi of the Upper Volta*.

The Caucasian Creed. It is a creed for destruction and death. Millions have already died for it and because of it. How many millions more? The future holds this secret.

Meanwhile, the 1888 German army under Von Francois halted at the Mossi border. The great zongagongos (war drums) had sounded throughout Mossiland and easily reached the ears of the German forces. They were not fools. The death-defying Mossi armies were as well known as were their industries and flourishing trade. The Germans also knew that the Mossi forces were waiting for them, probably impatiently, under the personal command of the Tansoba himself (Minister of War.) One may wonder why Von Francois did not realize even before leaving Togoland garrisons, how foolhardy it would be to invade the country of the Mossi. In any event, he turned his forces back and thus avoided certain annihilation.

The fact is that neither of the three great powers contending for Mossiland wanted to risk its forces in armed combat with these Blacks. Another stratagem was adopted: A war of attrition. Hit these fighting Blacks where it would hurt the most. Weaken them within by destroying their great international caravan routes. Throw the country into an economic panic. The British, French and Germans all participated in the great conspiracy. While the war against Mossi commerce was quietly pushed, the "friendly" missions to the Mogho Naba went forward, one after another. This was easy now; after the death of Sanum his weaker and more European-minded brother became Mogho Naba. Had it not been for a stronger and not so trusting Council, he would have been taken in more easily.

The wide use of "black" agents, usually Mulattoes, continued to be the white man's secret weapon in becoming the masters of the Black world. When the Blacks were on top they could pose as loyal members of the Black race—as many of them were in fact; or they could, having "white blood," ally themselves with the whites and serve their interests. The whites always made this both easy and attractive not only by emphasizing their superiority by blood, but by giving them better education and economic opportunities than Blacks under constant survival pressures could ever hope to achieve. This system became worldwide in dividing the race and

creating hostile color bars within it. For since the Mulattoes had a better education and, therefore, a higher income than their Black half-brothers and sisters, they, like the whites, regarded this superior social and economic status as the index of inherent superiority itself. Here superiority seemed to be a demonstrated fact of life, not a theory. And that was why the Mulatto, or Creole George Ekem Ferguson from Sierra Leone, now playing the role of a loyal Black African, was able not only to reach the Mogho Naba without any trouble, but even to negotiate a treaty on behalf of the British!—something that all the Europeans had been unable to do. The internal situation was changing; the fierce spirit of nationalism that diverted the German Togo threat had somehow declined.

Now the shadows lengthened. The whites had also been busily building up and training strong Black armies. Blacks trained to hate, kill, and conquer Blacks. Blood of Blacks was to sprinkle and further darken the pages of their history. The French were the most efficient in this development—the baffling phenomenon of Blacks more readily fighting and dying for the white man's cause than they are for their own. Indeed, Africa was conquered for the whites by the Blacks, and thereafter kept under colonial control by Black police and Black soldiers. Very little white blood was ever spilled. Black troops, small staffs of white officers and a core group of European soldiers. Instructions were strict and brief: Always use the Blacks. Keep European forces in reserve or in the rear.

And so it was that in July, 1896, a French lieutenant named Voulet and his staff led a strong army of Black cavalry and infantry across the Mossi borders to battle their way to Wagadugu. The last of the great black states in West Africa was now making its last stand under Mogho Naba Wobogo, who seemed to grow in courage as his country collapsed all around him. In 1897 the French, unable to secure the surrender of the Mossi leader (who continued to elude them and stage counterattacks), finally appointed a Mogho Naba who would serve them. Mossi guerrillas continued the war from the bush year after year—long after all hope for victory was gone. They were fighting on just as though they did not know that the first white man had long since come and that, therefore, the

nation had died. They fought on because, while their empire passed, the deathless Mossi spirit lived on—in witness whereof, their own Mogho Naba, the last of the elected line, fought with them side by side from the bush and never surrendered to France.

The Great Prophecy of the Mossi turned out to be the prophecy for all Africa: "When the first white man appears in the land the nation will die."

CHAPTER IX

Central Africa: Evidence from a Small State

THE KINGDOM OF KUBA

WE MUST NOT LOSE SIGHT OF WHAT WE ARE DOING—the important points of what we have been doing: A partial view of the early history of the Blacks from the loss of their Egyptian homeland to the coming of the Europeans has been presented through a summary study of a representative number of states; a continent-wide view of what happened to the whole by looking at typical situations—a people forever migrating, forever on the move, forever in flight from threats to survival; a new location found, sighs of relief and thanksgiving for a new breathing spell, and new efforts at reunification and state-building all over again; but every decade of unsettled life, every decade of wandering over deserts, savannas and through the forests—every such decade was one of retrogression, of disintegration—decades of decline, and no newly established state was able to reach the levels of achievements of the past before it was engulfed either by the Islamic East or the Christian West. This is what we have witnessed, no matter what black state was studied or in what region of Africa it was located.

1. Jan Vansina has done pioneering and most outstanding oral history studies in this area. I draw heavily on his field studies here, although—and perhaps because of my own field work in the region—I interpret some of his data differently. See Bibliographical Note.

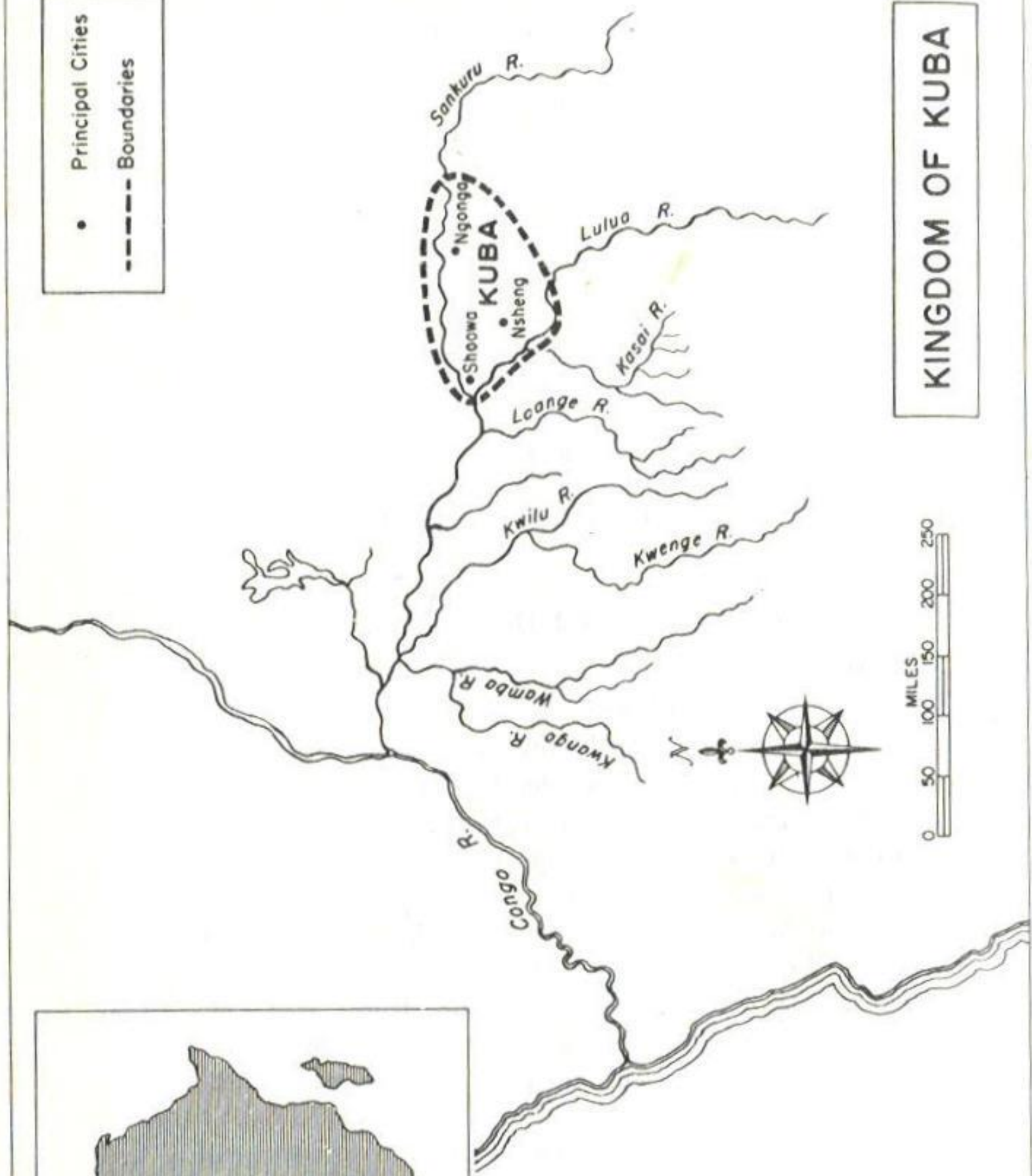
Principal Cities

Boundaries

KINGDOM OF KUBA



Atlantic Ocean



One of these wandering groups, unlike the Kongolese and Angolans, began to migrate from the Atlantic seaboard before the whites arrived, was free from contacts with them much longer and, therefore, founded a new nation that lasted much longer. The core group was made up of Blacks who came to be known as Bushoongs. They were moving from place to place toward the interior and finally began the development of the new state during the period when the white storm clouds were slowly rising in all directions—the 200 years between 1475 and 1675, the most critical in the history of the Blacks. It was during this period that the great noose of encirclement was completed and fixed, and the Blacks of Africa found themselves hemmed in and threatened from all directions—from the north, from the east, from the west and, finally, from the south. The white man's march toward world conquest and world domination was in full swing. This most critical period in the history of the race, I say, was such because this closing in on the Blacks from all directions was the beginning of the final death-blows to what remained of their own civilization.

There were dire consequences in terms of their psychological impact on Africans under perpetual danger. A new fatalism emerged that carried the sentence of ultimate doom to the minds of thousands. Some gave up resistance to anything, including a resistance to slavery and resistance to the barbarism that engulfed those who either went backwards or stood still for mental atrophy; some tried to save themselves by serving the invaders' cause, even if it meant enslaving and killing their own people; some believed that because the white man came in big ships with big, earth-shaking guns (cannons), surely they must be the gods of the world; others saw no sense in trying to maintain the traditional brotherhood and attempts at unity in the face of such overwhelming odds. Rather, the drive must be to secure these guns and ammunition from the whites even if it meant ceaseless wars to secure the slaves the whites demanded—secure them by warring on their own kinsmen in neighboring territories. And still others resolved never to yield, to move and keep on moving rather than submit, to rebuild, and keep rebuilding, never giving up; and to fight for unity as the only route to survival—voluntary unity if possible, unity by force if all else failed. These last "others" were the ones who had the

spirit that accounts for the survival of the most bruised and battered of the races of mankind.

Such a representative group were the Bushoongs. This their record will show. As the Portuguese slave raids spread, the Bushoongs moved inland from the Atlantic, enlisting new followers as they moved or temporarily stopped. They were headed toward the Congo region. Fleeing from the whites was not the only problem for them as it was not the only problem for the millions who had tramped over Africa before them. So when they had settled on the Lower Kwango early in the 16th century, their immediate foes were the fierce Jaga warriors, a roaming tribe that seemed to be more interested in raids of destruction than in settling anywhere. They were destroyers, not builders; and they were set on a course to prevent others from settling and building. And while large groups of them did split off from the main body to merge with others and form states, they seemed to be nothing more nor less than blood thirsty barbarians who engaged in warfare for the sheer thrill of warfare. These eventually opened war against the Bushoong state that was forming over a wide area along the Kwango. Under relentless and savage attacks by the Jaga warriors, the Bushoongs were forced to retreat along the Kasai and Sanguru rivers, many groups splitting off from the main body and going in different directions. The main body, led by its chief, Woot, entered the plain of Iyool in Kasai and began the formation of a little-known state during the third quarter of the 16th century. It is precisely because it was small and generally unheard of that I selected it for a summary study. There was another reason: It was typical of hundreds of other small Black states which, unlike the world-renowned Ghana, Mali and Songhay, the migrating Blacks had built all over Africa, but which seemed to be so insignificant to the conquering Europeans that they were swept away, their people scattered, with no Vansinas to seek out its oral historians to hear how things came to be, what was achieved or failed to be achieved before death came to their society at last.

The little kingdom of Kuba, then, having its history recaptured, will be telling their story also—telling it substantially as it was in all fundamental particulars.

The Bushoong, or central organizing group, was allied in a federation of voluntary kindred groups and other tribes, numbering

eighteen at the outset. The Cwa and the Kete were indigenous, the Cwa, as previously stated, having lived there "since the world began." They offered no opposition to the invaders, seemed to welcome them and became members of the federal union under Woot as the elected king.² Many of the splintered-off segments from the central groups came in later from different directions to join the federation. Other members were the Mongo, Pende, Ilebo, Shoowa, Kel, Kaam, Kayilweeng, Lulua, Luba, Ngeende, Maluk, Pyaang, Ngoombe, Byeeng, Coofa, and Mbeengi Ngongo.

From the very beginning the core group of Bushoong set an example for nation-building for all Africa, but few African states ever followed it. First of all, the total population at the formation of the federal kingdom can be estimated as between 75,000 and 100,000, of which number the Bushoongs were 80 percent. All the other tribes combined, therefore, were only one-fifth of the total population. This means that even under the most liberal democratic system the Bushoongs could have dominated and ruled all the other tribes by the sheer weight and power of overwhelming numbers.

They did not choose to do so. Here was what might be considered to be a justifiable occasion to depart from the traditional African constitution with its all embracing democratic system. Quite to the contrary, they followed it to the letter by simply transforming the Village Council of Elders into a council of State in which each tribe, now constituting a constituent province, was represented as an equal by its own chief or a representative of its choice. The members of the state council were the electors who chose the king. As it was throughout Africa, the Council represented the people and, therefore all powers not delegated rested with the Council. The significance of this was that the smallest tribe or province—which might be only 2 percent of the population was equal in the Council to the Bushoong group that was 80 percent of the population—a situation which head-counters might criticize as the very antithesis of democracy.³

But the numerically dominant Bushoongs seem to have been statesmen with a larger view of what democracy means if it is to

2. There is a record listing Woot in a much earlier period.

3. The Kaam might be the smallest minority in the "Kaam State," but only a Kaam could be the chosen councillor.

operate as a unifying force with divergent and formerly independent groups. What they did in effect was to make a frontal attack on tribalism not by futile denunciations or exhortations, but by actually detribalizing themselves first of all. They not only treated all of the different language groups as equals, but they promoted a national policy of glorifying those cultural variations in any groups which were so outstanding that they should be adopted nationally. Hence, every tribe that in isolation had developed something noteworthy but peculiar to itself—no matter how "strange" or different from all others—could see its unique culture pattern become a national institution and be filled with both pride and gratitude. If the Pende had a different kind of dance and excelled with it, theirs would become the national dance of Kuba. If the Luba excelled in the architectural arts, they would be the leading planners and builders; and so on in all human endeavors. Each group could win national distinction in one way or another for excellence in one or more fields, including agriculture and cattle breeding.

The kingdom was south of Zambia in Northern Katanga, covering the Province of Kasai between the Sankuri and Kasai rivers.

There were five rulers during the short period of 19 years between 1568 and 1587, one being a woman. It is not known whether the Council sitting as an electoral college, set what seems to indicate four year terms. After 1587 longer but still fixed terms for kings (or queens) also seem to be indicated. It appears that these limited terms of office by kings continued during the supremacy of the Council. For a long time ten years in office seemed to be the limit. This brings us to a third reason for selecting Kuba as both a sample and example state. Kuba shows how the Blacks themselves do undermine and destroy some of their own best institutions and replace Black democracy with Black autocracy without the slightest external influence or aid whatsoever. What is more—and often overlooked—a king may become a despot by the will of the people! This development, incidentally, is a further justification of my rejection of two equally false doctrines: One is the contention of whites that the great institutions in Africa were Caucasian in origin; and the other is the contention of Blacks that great African institutions were destroyed by Caucasians and other out-

siders—and by them alone. What it all means is that the African people act and react just as all other peoples do with the same motivations, conditions or similar circumstances, aims and objectives.

The democratic directions of this state was well established in 1587 when Lashyaang Mbal assumed the leadership. The economy was still operating along provincial interest lines and apparently without state direction or participation. The market system was the only integrating economic activity along broad national lines. The Bushoongs were still the leading boat-makers, fishermen and hunters. Because they were the most numerous, this tended to oversupply Kuba markets with fish and game. On the other hand, farm production was not only far below demand but it was also too limited in variety. This meant a very limited diet of millet, bananas, peanuts, fish and fowl. The cloth-making industries expanded as the iron-smith and other crafts developed. The building trades were the busiest in the new nation-building. These included architects, carpenters, brick-makers and masons.

THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The political structure actually began with the family council or clan council, which is the basic social unit of kinsmen. During the formative period of the state each clan had its own village. As new immigrants swelled villages into towns and cities, these became divided into clan sections or wards. Each ward sent its elder as a representative to the village, town, or city council, over which presided the village headman, town sub-chief, or city chief. These chiefs in turn served as representatives of their areas on the provincial council over which the Paramount Chief of the whole tribe presided. The Paramount Chiefs of the central provinces or states—the original eighteen founders—represented their provinces in the Central State Council over which the elected King of Kuba presided.

Conquered states and tribes which came after the federal union was formed were not eligible for representation on the State Council and their chiefs, therefore, could not participate in the election of kings. There were other special benefits and privileges enjoyed

by the eighteen elector-chiefs which other chiefs did not have or, more pointedly, the newcomers had burdens and responsibilities from which the elector chiefs were free. The heaviest of these were the tributary taxes levied on all chiefs except the "original eighteen." This too was to cause trouble later.

THE GOVERNMENT OF KUBA

1. The Council of State

- (a) The King presiding
- (b) The Linguist (interpreter and special aide to King)
- (c) The Chief of Chiefs (Prime Minister. The title "Chief of Chiefs" actually is that of the King. Here it means to say to all the chiefs of Kuba: "When you see and speak to my Chief Minister, you see and speak to the King.")
- (d) The Governors of provinces (Paramount chiefs). Each paramount chief or one of his elected generals was in supreme command of all military forces in his province. The King, who was also a governor of his particular tribal province, had only the soldiers of his province under his command.

2. Administrators not members of the State Council

- (a) First Chief of the Treasury
- (b) Chief of Border Defenses
- (c) Supervisor-General of Tax Collection, Goods and Services
- (d) Chief of the King's Household and Protector of Ancestral Tombs and Regalia
- (e) Chief of Roads and Markets
- (f) Collector-General for Tributary States (This office was created in the wake of Mboong a Leeng's imperialist expansion in 1650).

There were twenty-six kings during the three hundred and forty-two years of Kuban history, or from about 1568 to 1910. As in the cases of Ethiopia, Egypt, Makuria and the other states studied, here also only a few of the outstanding leaders will be

mentioned. In thus rigidly limiting the scope, we necessarily passed over many great leaders and important events, just as we shall be doing in the case of Kuba. Here also, we are not as interested in chronological details as we are in such things as the development of national policies to unite diverse tribes in a patriotic devotion to one nation and other policies that would clearly defeat that objective. The founder or founders of a nation constitute the specially honored group throughout Africa and it is the source of royalty itself. So Kuba was still following the African constitution when it made the central or nuclear group of 18 founders the permanent ruling council to the exclusion of "strangers" (in Africa, all those who came after the community or nation is established). Yet it is equally clear that as newcomers increased the population and as the nation expanded by conquering neighboring societies the reasons for future conflicts were also being expanded. These reasons, noted here in Kuba, were Africa-wide and account for the internal conflicts in the new African states today, even though all discontent has not come to the surface. And, as in the case of Kuba, the trouble stems from the failure to include every segment of the population in a national program of absolute equality, and the opportunity to participate so fully in every phase of the national life that a sense of patriotism and belonging to the nation will gradually outweigh that of belonging to a tribe. In short, what we so deprecatingly call 'tribalism' is in fact the necessary cohesive and social mechanism for survival and defense against threats to survival. The tribe is the unit through which the race itself has survived during all of its migrating and scattered circumstances. The enemies that beset it were Black as well as white. This the tribes of today know as well as their black brothers outside of the "Circle of 18" knew four hundred years ago in Kuba. Tribalism will disappear only when the reasons for its existence in the first place disappear.

The most noteworthy thing about Kuba in this connection, however, was that despite the great disorganizing factor just mentioned, its original program of uniting many language groups into one nation was so successful that it has not been equaled by any nation in modern Africa. For look what actually happened: Many tribes, including the Bushoong group, merged so completely that they lost their individual tribal identity and language and became

one people, speaking one language derived from all the others—the Bakuba or "People of Kuba."

This *E Pluribus Unum* process that went on continuously all over Africa is what makes the work of ethnologists and linguists so baffling and their dogmatic conclusions often misleading, imprecise, and sometimes simply false. Splitting off from a major into a dozen smaller groups, each developing a different language or dialect, then the re-merger of any twelve splintered groups into another major group, forming once again one people and one language out of many—and so on until the next segmentation of many and the later re-formation of the many into a society and language group again. It is, therefore, unlikely—to put it modestly—that any anthropologist or linguist on Africa could take a group of Bakuba today and determine which had ancestors who were Bushoong under Queen Ngokady, or Pyanng when Lashyaang Mbal was King, or Ngeende when Mbo Mboosh reigned, 1680-1695, etc. Even members of a group as distinctive as the Pygmies (Cwa) lost their identity through intermarriages with almost all the other groups. Their mingling with other groups was more widespread because, unlike them, they did not occupy a particular province but were scattered in all of them. The descendants of a Cwa-Maluk marriage in King Mishe ma Tuun's day (1620) could not be described as having "Pygmoid" features today—or Maluk either. The reason is simple: There have been too many other "crossings and re-crossings" during the three to four hundred years that have passed.

THE RELIGION OF KUBA

There was no problem of religious unity in Kuba because there was no problem of religious conflicts in traditional Africa. The Blacks, having a common origin and a common center of civilization, had the same fundamental religious beliefs throughout the continent, just as all of their other basic institutions were similar. The inevitable variations were insignificant when compared with the universal similarities. The Kubans believed, as all Africans believed, in one almighty God, the Creator of the Universe. There were numerous ways of expressing the one-god concept. He might be identified with the sun and called the Sun God, or, as a variation of this, he might be called the Sky God. The numerous other gods, far from

being in conflict with the Great God, were a necessary part of his divine plan—his own deputies and emissaries who had direct charge of the various departments of life that concerned human needs—the earth (soil), water, illness, health, fertility, planting, harvest, the forests, war, hunting, fishing, rain, etc.

There were lesser gods under these. Their rank or importance was determined by their role and the extent of their role. Different tribes might have different tribal gods or a group of kindred tribes might have the same sub-gods. Each family or clan might or might not have its own clan god, and each member of the family might or might not have his own personal god. In short, the traditional African religion respecting an Almighty God and a hierarchy of lesser deities was later taken over by Christianity in the form of patron saints and higher deities who rank next to God Himself.

It is said that religion in Kuba did not include "Ancestor Worship." This ancestor worship thing is another one of those overdone myths about Africans. The Bakuba did not "worship" their ancestors. But neither did other Africans, if Western writers are using the term in the sense that one worships God. And of course they *are* using worship in this sense. Just as they pretend not to understand the role of the numerous African deities but understand the role of these same deities in Western civilization if we call them patron saints—in the same way as just about every other aspect of African life and history has been misrepresented and distorted.

Yet one can understand why a people for whom the idea of immortality is merely a creed would find it hard to understand the all encompassing religious philosophy of a people who actually believed in life beyond death. From this central belief numerous other beliefs developed naturally. An important one was that relatives who had passed on maintained a continuing interest in the welfare of those left behind. To justify and preserve this continuing oversight of their ancestors, the living did those things that might merit ancestral approbation. There was ancestor reverence, not ancestor worship. This reverence for elders began in early life with the living and increased with the dead. When food was periodically placed at the graves, nobody expected the ancestral spirits to eat it (only fools outside of Africa allege that they did). What they were doing was a demonstration that the communal spirit of sharing was being maintained. Furthermore, if the ancestors approved of their behavior,

they were in a position to intercede on their behalf with the deities in times of crisis.

The Blacks' conception of God was on a scale too grand to be acceptable to Western minds. So they had to reduce it by using a term that is equated with paganism, "primitive" backwardness and barbarism. The word is "animism." But the historian and anthropologist are witnesses against themselves, still proving the very opposite of what they intend. In documenting animism as the chief characteristic of the religion of the Blacks from remotest times they are also documenting the fact that the Blacks' belief in the existence as well as the nature of one Universal God also goes back to times immemorial.

And what is animism? As applied to Africans it is the belief that the spirit of the Creator or the Universal God permeates all of His creations, living and dead. Therefore, any object, animate or inanimate, may be sacred. This concept of God and His creations would be regarded as highly "civilized" if expressed by a Westerner in some such terms as a "reverence for life." Indeed, precisely the same African religious belief becomes the doctrine of "Immanence" in Christian civilization.

The Bakuba (people of Kuba) believed that two contending spirits affected man: the spirit of good and the spirit of evil. Evil was thought to be expressed most clearly in witchcraft, which in turn characterized persons engaged in the practice of trying to do harm to others. In Kuba, as throughout Africa, the penalty for witchcraft was either death or banishment. The much misrepresented "witch doctor," far from engaging in the practice himself, had the task of combating the practice by trying to help its victims. Hence the title "witch doctor," which came to be applied to all African doctors indiscriminately because of the widespread belief that almost all human ills resulted from the work of evil spirits through evil operators—witches. A long chapter could be devoted to the training of the native doctors and their practice of medicine. This is not our purpose at this point. But it should be noted in passing that writers have generally focused their attention on the entirely superficial externals that disguised the African doctor's real practice of the healing arts. They spent years in the forests studying the medicinal properties of various plants and herbs. They went through the same long periods of apprenticeship that the members of all the other skilled

crafts had to go through under a master. The people were not fools. The prescribed medicine had to be beneficial. If not, the doctor was held to account far more rigidly than doctors are in our times. The African doctor's entire future in his community depended upon his successful ministrations, and these must overshadow inevitable failures now and then. And while the psychological ritual of hideous masks to frighten off evil spirits, the wild dance and mystical speech were all intended to impress the people with the mysteries of healing (carried over to modern medicine in Latin prescriptions),—after all of this, the native physician still had to produce satisfactory results or be disgraced.

Religion was involved in the practice of medicine, as religion was involved in every aspect of African life. Disease was believed to be the result of some misdeed on the part of the individual himself or the working of an evil spirit. If widespread, the community as a whole may have sinned, either by commission or omission of something that offended either the deities or the ever watchful ancestors. Songs, dances and sacrifices were communal activities designed to re-establish the proper relationship between the people and the unseen powers.

HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY

Each Kuban tribe was responsible for its own history, and the state was responsible for the history of the nation. It was oral history. The oral historian—again as in the case of all other crafts—was a trained historian. His basic training was in a Mnemotechnical system. This training in memorization began as an apprentice to a recognized historian other than the principal oral historian. There were special occasions for members of the clan to assemble to listen to the story of the clan and another occasion for the general community to assemble for the overall history of the nation.

The absence of written history made the task of the oral historian very exacting. He was generally held so strictly accountable for any errors made in his account that at times the reaction to mistakes made seems to have been unreasonable. For while he was allowed the widest latitude in commentaries of his own and even in fantastic embellishments designed to shock his listeners or entertain them, he dared not err in reciting the factual data of history.

It seems quite clear that not only the elders (who were also well versed in oral tradition) knew the difference between the mythical and the truly historical account, but the people also understood what was intended as amusement and what was their real history. Aside from "tall tales," the historian often used proverbs reflecting the philosophy of great leaders and that of the race, praise songs of great men and great events, songs which we would call "the Blues" which told of past failures and heartaches, and dances of victories won and of thanksgiving.

But the assembled elders were always keeping a sharp watch out for any serious errors on the part of the oral historian. He might be removed or even banished. In either case his career would be ended in disgrace and his disgrace might wreck his life among his people. On the other hand, if successful, the rewards were great because the oral historian was the community's storehouse of wisdom and one of its most honored personalities. He was the core of the education system. The lineage was the key to the history of the extended family, the tribe and the nation. Within the lineage were the social, religious, economic and political ties that held together the family, tribe and nation.

SHYAAM THE GREAT

Shyaam I was one of the greatest leaders that the Black race ever produced and, considering the conditions and circumstances of his time, I think he was the greatest. He became king of Kuba in 1630, and during the relatively short period of ten years he set in motion an economic revolution that transformed the nation and gave it a new forward direction. He was not only far ahead of his own time in perceiving that economic development was the only way to restore the ancient greatness of the Blacks, but he is still ahead of the whole Black world today in the revival of economic activities on all possible fronts. The economy had remained on the subsistence level. It could hardly be otherwise because the nation was still in its formative stage, still very young. The main activities were still in the fields of agriculture, fishing, weaving, mat-making, basketry, wood-carving, carpentry, furniture-making, pottery, iron and coppersmiths, sculpture and painting. There was a remarkable advance in all the arts, especially the pictorial arts. Since it was from the latter that the

Blacks developed their writing system in earlier times (and lost it through migrations) one may wonder whether there was any re-discovery and revival of writing in Kuba. Oral history does not tell us. Or does it? We do not know. What we do know is that the kind of stable society and institutions were developing in this nation from which writing develops as a compelling and almost indispensable need.

Shyaam's economic revolution stimulated many facets of the national renaissance about which we now know very little. For the Revolution of 1630 was a revolution in thinking and a search for new and better ways of doing things. The new King was interested in new styles and a break from the traditional art forms. His drive was for national consolidation and internal development rather than the wars of conquests that so much occupied the time and energies of his predecessors. The slowly developing economy now experienced a sense of urgency and national direction. New crops were introduced: sorghum, corn, millet (not entirely new in the area), tobacco, yams, and beans. The "external influence" here was Black "external influence" and now hardly external to Kuba, because some of the tribes now constituting the nation came from areas where these crops were grown. Would yams and tobacco grow in Kuba? "Let's find out," Shyaam seemed to have been saying on all fronts all down the line.

The skilled crafts were expanded and methods of production improved and speeded up by new techniques. New weaving and embroidery methods were notable. The break with tradition was most clearly seen in the experiments in new art patterns and new styles in wood carving.

All this economic activity meant a marked transition from a subsistence to a surplus economy, and this of course led to general prosperity through the expansion of markets and foreign trade. Since Kuba was not within the orbit of the caravan routes of international commerce, her "foreign" trade was with other African areas. Kuban trade missions were sent near and far to promote trade through the establishment of markets at important trading centers in nearby and distant states. This was the most important aspect of Shyaam's Economic Revolution. In the decline of the civilization of the Blacks as they splintered off and scattered here and there over Africa and over the world, they lost this pioneering

spirit of business enterprise—the most urgent need in recapturing their lost status in the modern world of aggressive competition. The traders were also organized into societies. Every occupation except agriculture had its society or guild. Farmers were not so organized because just about everybody was a farmer in addition to his trade. Any townsman who did not have a farm somewhere would have been considered "strange." One's trade or profession, then, was seen as possible only because of the basic economy and, for that reason everyone was responsible for a share in agricultural production.

The general prosperity engendered by the Economic Revolution did not bring general internal peace. The inevitable increase in population was further expanded by the annexation of new territories and the influx of the endless streams of migrating people who were attracted to this new land of opportunity. But they were "strangers," and this fact, as noted above, was a cause of general unrest among them and even greater unrest among the conquered groups. It appears that the national prosperity served to heighten the tensions rather than reduce them. More trouble came from Bieeng elements in the country, members of a major tribe that had challenged the Bushoong leadership even before the move from Iyool. Rebellions also broke out just before Shyaam assumed the leadership. The Pyaang and Kete succeeded in capturing and destroying the capital city, while the unsubdued Bieeng continued their attacks from the area still under their control.

These internal conflicts were of great historical importance because of the far-reaching consequences. The most important overall outcome was radical changes in the traditional constitution. To begin with, religion was drawn upon as an indirect means of social control by enhancing the divine role of the king. The traditional role of the king as the Chief Elder and, therefore, the Chief Representative of the people before God was very easily changed now to the conception of the king as the "Lieutenant of God on Earth." As God's Lieutenant on Earth, the king could assume powers not recognized by the constitution and go unchallenged. But above and beyond this, the internal turmoil was regarded as such a threat to the nation's existence by the loyal chiefs and the people that even more powers than the king had dared to assume were bestowed upon him to enable him to crush rebellions by direct action and restore internal peace. Here then is how a democracy may become an absolute mon-

archy, not by a *coup d'etat*, but by the consent of the people themselves.

They seemed to be thinking only about the "others" (strangers causing trouble) when they allowed the Council to give the king the power over life and death. Another fatal blow to the African democratic system was allowing the king to raise and maintain his own national army. The national army, as we know, had always been made up of contingents under the supreme command of the Council operating through the respective paramount chiefs and provincial kings. This single change can be said to have completed the triumph of the King of Kuba as an absolute monarch. He had already acquired extraordinary powers quite naturally as the kingdom expanded over new territory. New administrative offices had to be made. Some of these were so important that the king encountered no open opposition when he also appointed them as members of the hitherto exclusive State Council. This marked the end of the traditional council as it had functioned under the African constitution. The core council of the eighteen elector states was now outnumbered by appointees of the king.

It appears that Shyaam made no display and very little use of his new powers *vis a vis* the elector chiefs. His chief interest continued to be in the field of internal improvement, building a capital city, and upgrading the social amenities that reflect a highly advanced society. These included new forms of court etiquette and procedures, resplendent regalia etc.

One of Shyaam's stratagems for securing the loyalty and support of important chiefs and other notables was the appointment of their sons to many important posts. This move was significant because it by-passed the nephews in favor of the sons—thus satisfying the natural but never spoken desire of most fathers in a matrilineal society.

THE KING-GENERAL

Shyaam left a record of achievements that none of his successors could match. He was a legend even in his own lifetime. The people had never known or heard about such a leader, and had never experienced in their own lives the direct benefits of such leadership. It had to be magic and, therefore, Shyaam had been the "Great

Magician." Since magic in Africa was simply another religious means of invoking the aid of a deity, to call their chief intercessor with God a magician meant that he was actually securing benefits for the people, and that he was indeed the "Lieutenant of God on Earth." In short, "magic" was another form of prayer, song or dance in the appeals to supernatural powers for help.

Mboong a Leeng, Shyaam's successor, was not a "great magician." He was a warrior-king, a great general. He did not have to carry on the economic revolution. It carried on itself from the momentum Shyaam had given it. Mboong a Leeng devoted himself to further wars of conquest and the expansion of the royal power which these wars made easy.

The age grade military system started by Shyaam was expanded from a militia to a strong standing army ("strong" for the period). Prisoners of war, now slaves, formed the king's personal army. They were stationed in separate villages of their own. Now the king was powerful enough to attempt to make the modest changes in the matrilineal system under Shyaam more thoroughgoing and permanent in the royal family itself. The royal nephews were all placed under permanent house arrest and sons of king became heirs to the throne. Meanwhile they were appointed to important governing posts in different parts of the kingdom. And while it has been suggested that this radical breach of constitutional law was intended to reduce the factional power struggles in the royal family, what it did was to sharpen such struggles along more clearly defined lines. Mboong had divided not only the royal, but all the chiefs and people into the defenders of the traditional constitution on the one hand, and the "progressive" reformers on the other. This meant more unrest and more rebellions.

The King-general dealt with these with an iron hand, was successful, and proceeded with another important assault on the constitution. He outlawed migrations from the country. This had been one of the Black man's greatest freedoms—the right of every dissatisfied individual or group to withdraw from the community, migrate elsewhere, and either join some other group or set up a new chiefdom. The universal use of this freedom, let it be remembered at every point, is one of the reasons for so many different little societies and language groups throughout the continent, while at the same time indicating a common origin and background.

This relatively small and generally unknown kingdom in the Congo region was a microcosm of Black Africa in other respects and, as in other African states, it presents the concrete evidence and specific validation of much of the history of the Black people. There was still another development in Kuba that was occurring all over Africa—a development of the highest importance for ethnologists, but one which they generally bypass or treat very lightly. This had to do with still another way new tribes, new chiefdoms and new language groups were formed, ultimately leaving not a trace of what the respective members of such groups had been in former times. A new tribe and chiefdom of this kind was formed by “strays” and stragglers—individuals and very small groups that had become detached from their main society during the migrations. Speaking different languages and dialects, they were unaffiliated persons who were lost in the corporate society of Kuba. Even to become second class citizens as newcomers, strangers had to be members of a single group large enough to have the traditional tribal socio-political structure headed by a chief. Because of these conditions and circumstances many stray individuals and small groups from different tribes united and began the formation of a new tribe, a new language from the merger of many, and a new tradition or oral history. Here too is how and why oral tradition may become confused and misleading during the first two or three generations. For the first chief and his family, chosen as founders of the new chiefdom, may attempt to overplay their role in the founding and progress of the new society.

The central point that is stressed here again, however, is that the historical process in Africa of segmentation, remerging, segmentation and remerging *ad infinitum* defies all attempts by Western anthropologists to divide and classify the race into opposing ethnic societies. It cannot be done either by linguistics or by conclusions arrived at on the basis of widely different physical features and/or characteristics.

All these observations can be drawn from the most eventful fifty years in the history of Kuba—1630-1680. Notwithstanding the unprecedented changes in the constitution, ironically enough, the periods of Kuba's glory and greatest achievements were under the leadership of her three great autocratic kings—Shyaam the Great, Mboong a Leeng and Mbo Mboosh, 1650-1680. With the death of

Mbo Mboosh an era of relative peace, stability and progress came to an end.

But that era left us with a perplexing question. Considering the history of the nation before Shyaam and after Mboosh, that question is whether democracy actually served the welfare of the people as well as autocracy. It is an awful question, but here is a specific case where the question rises under its own power. In view of the record, no one has to raise it. It therefore has to be faced.

It may be that the tradition-bound councils which we glorify so much because they represented the people and served as a check on chiefs and kings, may also have served to check progress under the leadership of dedicated chiefs and kings of far-seeing vision. This in turn introduces the question of the role of leadership in the affairs of men, and particularly in the history of every people that had great leaders who lit the blaze which banished the darkness from their marching paths. Since leadership is indispensable in any group situation, large or small, the ultimate solution in a democracy may be centered around the question not of how much power a leader has, but rather in whose interest and for whose welfare that power is to be used. This presupposes an alert people who know when and where to draw the line between their welfare and the actions of a powerful leader. When Mboong went to the extreme by appointing and deposing chiefs at his pleasure, the people could have checked him. Therefore, the great kings who did so much to build a strong nation also planted the seeds for its destruction from within long before the Europeans completed its destruction from without.

From 1680 until the coming of the Europeans in the 1880s intermittent internal strife darkened the whole period. The struggles centered around the various constitutional violations and changes. These were the main issues whether the rebellions were led by whole tribes or were civil strife led by royal sons on the one hand and royal nephews on the other. Through it all, however, foreign and domestic trade somehow continued to flourish. In fact, the Kuban markets were so widespread outside of the country that these enterprising Blacks attracted the attention of the now world-conquering Europeans. They now had business to "explore" up and down the Kasai and Sankuru rivers, checking on the operations of the Bakuba.

Once again the most crucial points in the history of the Blacks were being epitomized by a single small nation. It was to escape

the Europeans that, centuries before, the people who formed the Kuban state had continued their migrations from the Atlantic seaboard and journeyed far into the interior. They had come on and along the same rivers the advance scouts of the enemy were now exploring.

The Blacks, as usual, were too busy fighting among themselves to mark the heralds of their doom or see the significance of their coming. Up to this time they had been wise enough to adhere to the rule followed by most African states by rigidly barring all non-Africans from crossing their borders. The record of over four thousand years showed that in each and every case where the rule of exclusion was relaxed and Asians or Europeans were admitted under whatever pretext, the ultimate fate of the Blacks was sealed. First a lone Portuguese came, "seeking trade." Who would be silly enough to fear a lone white man? And were not the Kubans the great traders, always looking for new markets? Nor were the few Germans who came later any occasion for concern other than new opportunities for trade. The exploring expeditions up and down the rivers did not cause alarm. Trading relations with the Europeans were indeed established and were becoming more and more profitable.

The Europeans were not yet permitted to settle within the country. But no matter. They were, as we have said, long-range schemers. The pattern of worldwide imperialism had been determined long ago, and the techniques of penetration and dominance were fixed and universally applied. So, instead of invading the country by force—something they were never prepared to do initially anyway—they ringed the country with trading posts along its borders. To these outposts missionaries assembled to form missions (for God and the empire) and were later followed by armed detachments, ostensibly to protect the trading routes and new markets from imaginary raiders.

To make matters worse, the European crisis began to develop near the end of the longest and most strife-ridden reign in Kuban history. King Mbop a Mabunc ma Mbul was in the fifth decade of his rule, tired and worn out both by age and endless fighting. Far from seeing the gathering Europeans as a threat, he and his immediate successors seem to have regarded them as a godsend that would solve two critical problems: The Portuguese offer to buy all

of the captured rebels and other troublemakers and the replenishing of a drained treasury by the sale of these war prisoners. The first would tend to end civil strife and restore domestic peace, and the second was a new source of great wealth. To be relieved of the cost and trouble of maintaining prisoner-of-war camps was still another incentive for selling them. For such reasons the unforgivable sale of Blacks into slavery by Blacks began. The fact that African chiefs and kings had a quite different conception of slavery than that of the Caucasians does not excuse them; for in the course of time they had to know that in the West the captured Blacks became slaves in fact, and not, as in Africa, persons who became members of the community, were integrated into families, became members of any of the crafts, had rights to farm land, held offices and, in fact, had all the rights and privileges enjoyed by their original captors.

So, I am saying that while at first the African slave sellers may not have known the fate to which they were consigning their brothers, in time they did learn. And for this reason these Blacks will stand condemned forever before the bar of history, King ma Mbul along with the others.

The sale of malcontents into slavery did not end the civil strife because, for one thing, all the rebels were neither captured nor defeated. Besides, the permanent center of conflict was in the royal lineage itself. The general upheaval after 1885—the year the European conquest of all Africa began—made it easy for the whites to enter and spread all over the country. The traders and missionaries were the first to take over the country by first allying themselves with opposing chiefdoms and opposing royal factions, urging on each to keep up the fight against the others. Indeed, the missionaries in Kuba were missionaries of damnation, not salvation. They wore the deceptive garb of religion but their activities were not only almost wholly political but were concerned with furthering the disintegration and collapse of this little Black nation. They obviously did not come to help, spiritually or otherwise. They came to hinder, at least until the country was completely under white rule. Their next step, therefore, was to actually set up chiefdoms themselves, install puppet chiefs, and rule the country through the chiefdoms over which they and the traders had control!

When the 20th century dawned, a dying Kuba was gasping for breath, making its last desperate attempts to free itself from the

choking hands it thought had come to bestow Christian blessings. But it was too late. The temporary restoration of the king was too late. The Congo Free State's gesture of assistance was too late. Death arrived according to a schedule—and that was determined by the whites. In 1916, the European controlled Kot a Pe, the last to hold the fictitious title of "King" to disguise white rule, passed from the scene; and the kingdom of Kuba, having long since died, now had its death certified by the equally small state of Belgium that now ruled a Black African region ten times its size.

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Kuba was the African experience in so many important respects that it was taken as a case-study typical of that experience. We have therefore seen how many of the migrations ended after the people had been uprooted from one place after another. Some to the farthest regions went, found what they believed to be a place of refuge, and began to build again as a separate, isolated society, slowly developing new forms of speech and variations from the original culture. Some found refuge in swamps, caves and forests or deserts where the natural environment alone was an effective barrier to progress and an unspoken command to retrogress to barbarism. Still others, such as the Bushoongs, united with other tribes to form a new nation. Out of this new nation there emerged not only a new people composed of many diverse groups but also a new language similarly made up of different languages and dialects.

It was also significant that the new state was formed under the guidelines of the traditional African constitution: Kings were to be elected and the power center was in the Council of State. There appeared to be a studied program of nation-building by glorifying the unique cultural offerings of each society and making its contributions a part of the whole nation's heritage.

Significant, too, was the fact that religion, like other basic institutions, was essentially the same as it was in the "Heartland of the Race." The Sky God was still the Sun God, and the sun was simply the obvious way to symbolize the reality of the One God concept—the Creator of the Universe.

The role of great leaders as benefactors in human affairs was repeated and made clear again in the life and work of Shyaam the

Great and in that of at least two of his successors. Shyaam's economic revolution that promoted remarkable progress and prosperity made his new title of "Lieutenant of God on Earth" readily acceptable; for were not those leaders who looked after the welfare of the people the instruments of the divine will? As we have seen, a political phenomenon develops from this circumstance in which the people's confidence in the leader is so great that he may be allowed to exercise powers unlimited to further advance the public welfare. It is the genesis of absolutism. Therefore, the study of this state was also a study of how an African democracy evolved into an autocracy without any external influence whatsoever.

Kuba revealed something else. We also saw that there was a Black imperialism in Africa, all African, and without outside influence. Indeed, we saw the microcosm of all the conquests of Blacks by Blacks, the oppression and enslavement of Blacks by Blacks—all of which left us the heritage of suspicion, distrust and hatred that accounts for "tribalism," disunity, fear and unrest today.

In spite of it all, the Kuban state was relatively secure as a Black power entity until they allowed the whites to come in. At that point the history of the Blacks in Egypt and everywhere else was being repeated—and in exactly the same way. The Blacks had learned nothing from their previous experiences with whites. The Blacks were therefore doomed to repeat the same big mistakes over and over, meanwhile losing both their civilization and their freedom. As the last days of the kingdom show, the separatist chiefdoms struggling for power actually sought alliances with the whites to overcome this or that Black faction. They did this in Egypt and lost; there they continued to form alliances with whites against Blacks even after Black rule had been pushed southward below the First Cataract. The whites were only too anxious to oblige in thus helping the Blacks to speed up the work in which they were so busily engaged: social disorganization and the internecine strife that led to white control of their lives. One may wonder if Kot a Pe, the last of the figure-head "Kings" under Belgium rule, ever reflected on how and why the Blacks so often seal their own doom.

CHAPTER X

White Devils from the West

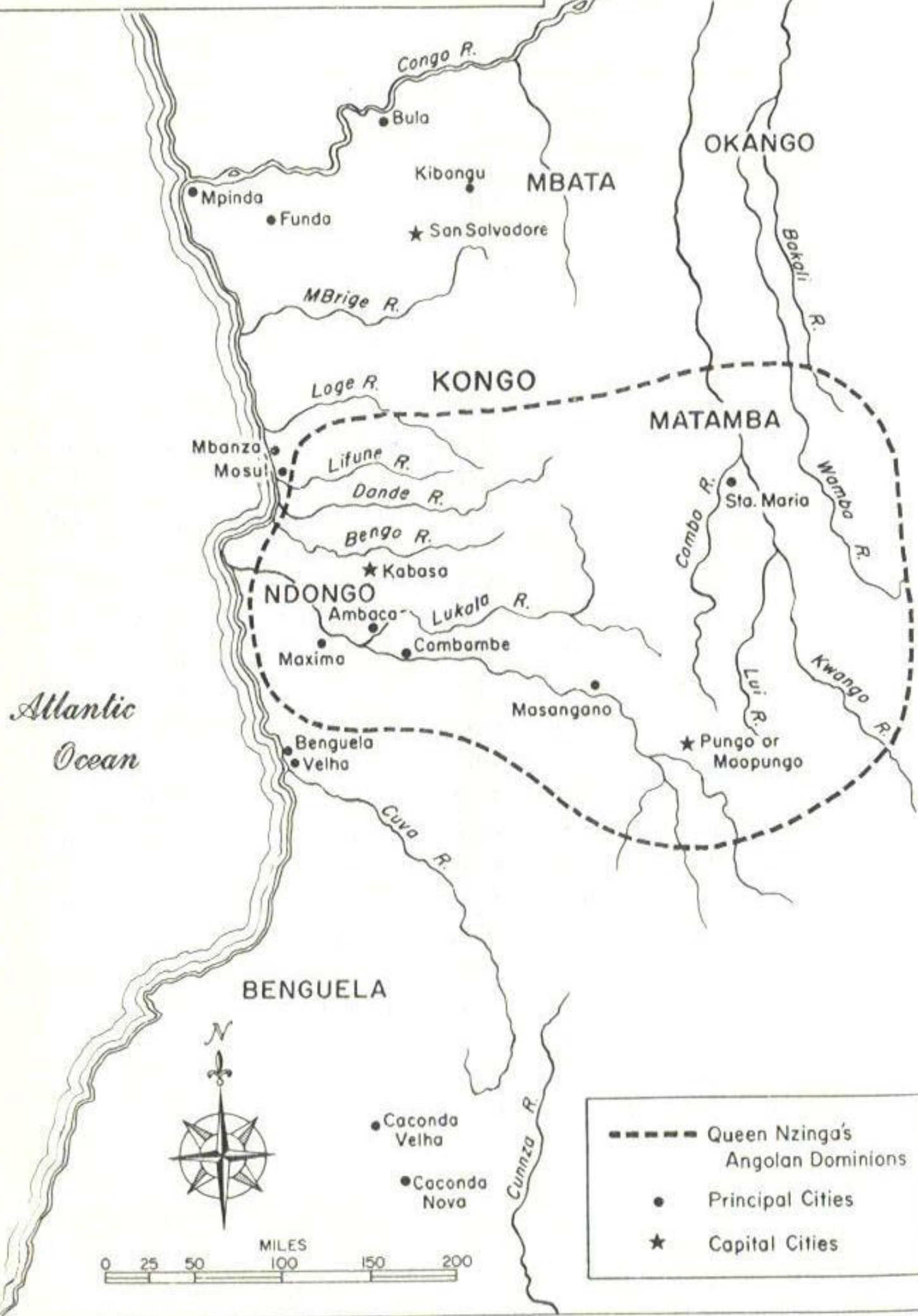
BEFORE THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY MOST AFRICANS ON the continent had never seen a real white face. Since in many societies all devils and other evil spirits were white, the ritual to ward these off was always led by chanting dancers whose faces and bodies were hideously painted with white chalk. That there were in fact white humans—living "white devils"—was unbelievable (probably few reports are better known than those of first contacts where the boldest of the unbelievers would venture to rub the skin of whites to see if the "paint" would come off).

Over a thousand years had passed since Assyrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs and Turks had taken over Egypt, and Arabs now also ruled the Eastern Sudan. Arab-Hebrew rule was steadfast in isolated Abyssinia, while the Arabs along the East Coast, operating from their Zanzibar stronghold, had not themselves ventured far into the interior. Their Afro-Arab agents generally spearheaded slave hunting operations.

Ghana and Mali had disappeared, and now Songhay was making its last stand against Arab, Coloured, and Berber armies from across the desert. Even there where black armies clashed with invading white armies, the masses never saw white people. This refers not only to the countless thousands who fled upon the approach of enemy troops, but also to those who remained scattered over the country in their villages.

Now things were changing rapidly and the people were becoming sharply aware that they were being hemmed in from all direc-

The Kingdoms of NDONGO and MATAMBA in the 17th Century



tions. To begin with, the Arabs were spreading out and penetrating formerly forbidden borders of Black states. Being the longest of the whites in Africa and the freest in amalgamation—because of this there were millions of brown Arabs, dark skinned Arabs, and near-white Arabs. They could therefore enter Black territory from which whites were barred. These Black Arabs (many were unmixed) confused African leaders everywhere, increased the tensions and tribal wars among them, and helped mightily in destroying the independence of African states. Having discussed this in connection with the fall of the Mossi States and elsewhere, my return to the same subject again is to keep a focus on the race's self-imposed chains as well as on those imposed by the whites. A further reason is that Blacks themselves do not like to discuss these internal handicaps at all—not even among themselves. We prefer to pretend that certain things do not exist. This fact in itself is a weakness that strengthens the white power position over the Blacks.

The Portuguese were the first white European people to arrive in West and Central Africa. They were not long in adopting the Arab strategy in dividing the Blacks against themselves—a strategy since adopted by all white people.

THE KONGO-ANGOLA STORY

The Portuguese arrived at the mouth of the great Congo River in West Africa in 1488. Their aim was to make their tiny European state into a vast African-Indian empire. They had two men of vision to inspire the all-out efforts to realize the dream: Joao I and his son, Henry. Africa had been secure from invasions from this quarter during all the centuries the Western world believed that the earth was flat. Now the myth had been exploded when in 1434 Gil Eanes dared to sail beyond the area where the Atlantic Ocean was supposed to end and ships plunge into the void: He sailed around Cape Bojador. Thenceforth the Blacks of West Africa had to confront the "white devils" from Europe and the Americas.

The Portuguese, as ignorant of the African people as they had been about the shape of the earth, were not prepared to find highly advanced states there. The Kingdom of the Kongo was their first great surprise, because its political structure and expertly organized administrative machinery equaled that of Portugal or any other

European state known to them. That system requires no discussion here because it followed the same constitutional pattern as that of the other African states already described. The Kongo's economic system of agriculture and handicraft industries, organized into guilds, was the same; apprenticeship training for all skilled occupations was the same; and the general pattern of social organization was also the same as other African societies.

The Kongo Kingdom was prosperous, carrying on external trade by both land and rivers with states farther north, east and west. The states to the south, later to become Angola, were in an uneasy commotion due to the increasing presence of foreigners on the coast, on nearby islands, and now sailing up the rivers toward the interior. Migrations from the Angola states increased, even though the Portuguese were then bypassing the region in favor of the more highly advanced Kingdom of Kongo. Or was it the flight of so many potential slaves from the coastal areas that caused the Portuguese to move up the river closer to population centers? It was more likely a strategic move. By establishing a stronghold in the Kongo kingdom the Angola region would be caught between Portuguese armed forces on the Angolan northern border and those on the seacoast and off-shore islands. In short, Portugal was getting in a position to take over this whole region of Black states.

Many historians and apologists for Portuguese imperialism in Africa use the Kongo kingdom as the classic example of the Portuguese policy of racial equality. For did they not themselves declare this to be their policy? And did not the King of Portugal *himself* address the King of Kongo as "brother?" What happened was that the Portuguese captains had met Kongo leaders—not just the King—who were in fact not only their equal, but men so anxious to advance their nation further that they were willing and anxious for anything new and better that the white world had to offer. They took the Westerners at their word. They had painted their monarch as the greatest king in a world that had advanced to a pinnacle of civilization under the guidance of a universal religion that was headed by a Supreme Pontiff who was appointed by the Son of God himself. Moreover, this same Successor to the First Head of the Church, the Apostle Peter, would not only welcome the King of Kongo and his people into the great Christian fold, but would send missionaries and teachers to help make his kingdom

the greatest in Africa. Portuguese records indicate that far more than religion and Western education was offered—material benefits, such as great wealth from trade, were persuasive.

The Kingdom of Kongo, therefore, is a case-study of the processes of Westernizing the very first group of Blacks on the African continent.¹ This, however, was only one of the means to a much greater end. Nothing could have been farther from Portugal's real objective than bringing Christianity and a higher civilization to Africa. "Christian civilization" served as the charm words in the white man's magic with the incantations which hypnotized both his victims and himself: They believed they were being introduced to a better life, while the latter convinced himself that even the enslaved people were better off under the white standard for civilization—besides which there was no other. He was, therefore, serving God himself in Africa; for did not the churches throughout the Western world so proclaim? And were not the Christian missionaries the most effective servants of empire?

The court at Lisbon had planned well. For such a mini-state as Portugal an ambition for an empire bigger than the continent of Europe, and then daring enough to operate the plan—this must compel a degree of admiration for the kind of Caucasian genius and uninhibited aggressiveness that enabled very small groups of men to go forth to conquer and dominate almost all the peoples on this planet. Portugal's presence in West and Central Africa aimed at nothing less than building an empire across Africa from west to east—from Atlantic Ocean to the Indian Ocean—a vast swath across the continent that would also serve directly as the imperial highway connection with the projected Indian empire. The African-Indian empire was Portugal's grand design. The Kongo interlude was merely a needed stepping-stone and base of operations.

But they were smart enough to realize that the foundation for a permanent empire in the land of another people, and built with their own sweat and blood, would be more successful if the minds of the people could be captured first. One did not go in with guns blazing. Only fools did this, except in cases where the "natives" were too

1. The ancient Ethiopian Church (in Makuria and Alwa) had no conscious Westernization program beyond the changes in names, and these, like those of Jews, were Bible names.

damn smart and saw through every scheme, no matter how shining the Cross or how white the extended hand. In such cases it was their own fault, yet for their own salvation, that Christian cannons had to blast away. First of all, however, the really big thing was to change the Blacks into Christians, which changed them into Westerners, which was to change them into the white man's image—the previously mentioned process the outcome of which caused Blacks to reject and become ashamed of both their culture and themselves—the only people on earth to do so. And this is why it is important to have a close-up look at the process of Westernization in the Kingdom of Kongo where it began.

The missionaries began their work on kings and notables. There was nothing new in this approach. Indeed, the Kongolese were so anxious for the new education and its vehicle, Christianity, that the priests found their tasks easy.

First of all, to become a Christian one had to be baptized and given a "Christian" name. Christian names were Western names, and they all took the form used in the conquering country. The first Kongolese king to become a Christian was Nzinga Kuwu in 1492, taking the Portuguese name of Joao I. Hundreds of other Blacks immediately followed his example—princes, chiefs, ministers and some of the masses. The most notable Kongolese kings who became "Black Portuguese" were Affonsos, Alvares, Dom Pedros, Diogos, etc. Overbearing Jesuit Fathers were installed as councilors to the king, one functioning as a prime minister. This move at once destroyed the troublesome traditional council that controlled chiefs and kings, and with such councils no European power could operate. The age of absolutism with the rise of the nation-state in Europe was directly reflected in the Kongo kingdom. With this Portuguese wedge between the king and the people, the Kongo rulers now found themselves free to make important decisions without reference to Black councilors.² They therefore tended to become absolute monarchs insofar as their own people were concerned, but generally puppets in the hands of Europeans.

2. Since the Kongolese rulers were migrants into the territory and extended their kingdom over indigenous people, the king's appointment of key officials was one of the same routes to autocracy I have discussed in connection with the rise of new African states following migrations.

The exceptions were Affonso I and Diogo I. The idea of divine kingship was promoted through the anointment and crowning of kings by Portuguese bishops. Kings now ruled as "sons of the Church," chosen by divine decree to serve it. This means serving the Portuguese by meeting their demands—always made as friendly suggestions from brothers who were "equal in Christ." Even the traditional political system was made to appear as a Portuguese creation. It was already highly and efficiently organized before any Europeans came—organized with each village and town under a chief (called *mani*), each district under a *mani*, and each of the six major provinces that made up the kingdom was under the administration of a governor, also bearing the title of *mani*. Now, in addition to the widespread use of Portuguese names, important Portuguese titles appeared, such as dukes and infantes—a new class of princes—hitherto never used in Africa because the Western conception of royalty was absent. Here, then, is another case where the "external influence" school can have a field day, since nothing is better known (and nowhere denied) than the fact that the Africans who adopted European or Asian institutions, such as Islam and Christianity, for example, were not only "influenced" by them, but often transformed into "Black Arabs," "Black Portuguese," "Black Frenchmen," "Black Englishmen" and so on.

In fact, it was this very transforming external influence that played a decisive role in first destroying the best in African civilization while at the same time giving worldwide publicity to all remaining elements of barbarism that could be found. The new masters of the continent were in the position of all-power and could, therefore, make their viewpoints the viewpoints of the world. The system of reducing Blacks to non-persons was so thoroughgoing that not only did the various people of the world regard them as such, but—tragedy of tragedies—the Blacks themselves came to feel inferior, and to hate themselves and all of their kind. Magic? Here now indeed a magical thing had happened since these whites who called themselves Portuguese had arrived.

As the 15th century moved on toward the 19th, the Europeans became less and less "white devils" and more and more white masters, backed up by awesome firepower. "White" was no longer the face of evil in the Black world. It had changed places with

"Black." Now Black was the badge of evil, all that was bad—even bad luck. To make a white man look evil you had to dress him in black; life's final tragedy, death, called for mourning in black; happy events, such as baptisms and weddings, required the wearing of white; God himself, being white, had cursed the Blacks and made them the "servants of man"—*man* being white man, for was not he made in the "image of God?" To worship God, in effect, was to worship the white man. A volume could be written on the scores of these little psychological gimmicks that are now so deeply embedded in cultural thought that they are taken as a simple matter of course and require no comment. Yet they are the subtle weapons which have been more devastating in conquering the Blacks and reducing them to an inferior status than armed might. Caucasian victory was complete and seemingly permanent when the Blacks throughout the world joined the whites in glorifying all things white and condemning all things black, or even tinged with black, including themselves. Here we are at the very heart of the "race problem"—this self-abnegation, self-effacement, the loss of self-identity by cutting their roots with the past and thereby losing the very links with their history from which a people draws strength, inspiration to move forward to even higher ground and, in fact, the reason for being.

In short, in the incongruous attempts to replace his own values with those of the white man, the black man lost his own personality and, therefore, his manhood—almost absolutely. Nearly five hundred years have passed since the first Europeans landed on the coasts of West Africa, and their phase of transforming Blacks from men to half-men began. Yet even with this long background there are countless millions of frustrated Blacks—frustrated by the perpetual annoyance of the blurred vision and the blank wall as they struggle to see life through the blue eyes of Caucasians.



The status of African people throughout the world remains too precarious to deal with their history by merely chronicling important events. The situation demands that greater efforts be made to determine the meaning of those events, their effect on the people, the overall change in the direction of history, and what new direc-

tions the race must take. The major and immediate Portuguese aim in Africa was not the conquest of Blacks. Rather, their first aim was to destroy Arab power in Africa and the Islamic control of just about all of the overland trade routes to the East. For this cause Columbus had sailed, and other European nations took to the high seas. The Portuguese sought to use religion as the usual spearhead. That Christian states were in Africa from the earliest times had not been completely forgotten.³ One that had escaped Muslim destruction was located in what had been a southeastern border state of the ancient Ethiopian empire, identified by the Portuguese as a kingdom ruled by a "King Prester John." The idea was to unite the Christian forces of Europe with those of Africa in an all-out war against the Arabs.

But what was not generally known was that the kingdom of Axum, expanding to become the Empire of Abyssinia, was ruled alternatively by Christian Arabs and Coloured Christian Hebrews. All Arabs were not Muslims; all Hebrews were not Jews in religion. It appears that African Hebrew and Christian Arab communities were in Southern Arabia and Yemen—just across from the East African country they later conquered. The Portuguese, however, did not reach the African Christian kingdom at the time they sought it for the promotion of their campaign against Islam. They had therefore begun the work of creating a Black Christian kingdom in their own image. This was Kongo. By 1512 no one needed to guess or speculate about the Portuguese plans. Their king, Manuel, made them clear in documentary form: The *Regimento*. This is one of the interesting and significant documents in the history of Black people because it was the first detailed blue print for the conquest of the Black man's mind (acculturation via Christianity), his body (slavery), and his country. This historic document, however, was couched in all the endearing words and phraseology of equality and brotherly love—from which fact historians have declared the Portuguese African policy to be one of equality replete with humanitarianism. But the Kongolese King, Affonso (his Portuguese name notwithstanding), saw through the elaborate plan to reorgan-

3. There was no reason why the ancient African Church should have been "forgotten" at all. The Vatican records and those at Constantinople were available.

ize his country and began to throw up roadblocks, albeit too late. Manuel levied on the King a heavy tribute in slaves, ivory and copper to pay the cost of his Christian civilization program in the country, his various expeditions there, and for the "huge expenses" in connection with the education of a few Kongolese children in Portugal, including the King's son. Manuel's next most important move was to make certain that his *Code de Kongo* was carried out. He, therefore, sent Simao de Silva both as his ambassador and, in effect, governor-general or viceroy of Kongo.

While Simao de Silva's real functions were clearly outlined, these were covered over by the usual title of courtesy: Advisor to the King or the King's Counselor. In this capacity he was the co-administrator of the nation, a supreme judge and had control over army and finance. He was to have a comprehensive geographical survey of the country to determine the extent of its natural wealth for direct exploitation. Things quickly got out of hand. The Portuguese settler population, based mainly on the coast and off-shore islands, desired the quicker riches that would flow from the increasing demand for Black slaves. The settlers, therefore, pursued a more aggressive course of action, ignoring the Lisbon court's attempt to cover the real operations with the friendly language of diplomacy.

Up to the sixteenth century the people we are calling slaves were not slaves in the modern sense, but laborers either captured as prisoners of war or persons imprisoned for various offenses. So during the first stages of the slave trade many African chiefs and kings actually thought they were supplying workers needed abroad—and at a great profit to themselves. They had had no experience with the white man's slave system or its equation with "race." Not at first, we have said. But as the decades passed—and the Kongo state is a good example—many Africans became enmeshed in the horrors of the trade, knew what they were doing and, in the pursuit of guns and riches, became as brutal as the whites in dealing with their own kind.

Guns. Black leaders saw these new weapons of death as the real source of the white man's power and the immediate threat to their own existence; the earth-shaking cannons that were being brought into Africa seemed to herald the death of a whole race or its total enslavement. The Africans became insistent in their de-

mands for guns as articles of trade. There was then, as now, a silent embargo on arms to Black Africa—a sort of white "Gentlemen's Agreement." The demand for guns by the chiefs was pitted against the demand for slaves by the Europeans and Arabs (the Arab slavers had no trouble securing firearms). The chiefs could seriously hamper the trade if their demands for guns were not met. Besides, many slave traders were quick to see that the supply of slaves would double and triple if firearms were given to certain strategically located kingdoms and chiefdoms; for these would then seek to become big, wealthy powers, expanding their territories over weaker Black states, and capturing millions of prisoners to be enslaved in the process. The more aggressive traders were willing to arm such African states as one of the risks capitalists must take in the pursuit of wealth. The more imperialist-minded saw an outcome even more important: That this would be a built-in motivation for perpetual warfare among the Blacks themselves, creating an everlasting hatred between groups, destroying every basis for unity and, above all, keep them so busily hating and fighting each other that they would forget their real enemies—the "white devils" from the sea.

The Portuguese Christianization of the Kongo created something more than chaos. It was a revolting mess, no matter from what angle it is viewed. To begin with, priests were not only among the leading slave traders, but they also owned slave ships to carry the "black cargoes" to distant lands. Priests also had their harems of black slave girls, some having as many as twenty each. They were called "house servants" by these "holy fathers." The great majority of the whites were the scum of the land from which they came. Even the half-educated priests were generally of the very lowest character, morally and otherwise. The slave situation became more and more desperate and out of hand as every white man down to the lowly worker became a trader. The builders sent over to erect fortifications and other permanent installations for the Portuguese—stone and brick masons, carpenters, engineers, painters, metal and other craftsmen were all slave traders. Sailors and unskilled Portuguese laborers had their own quotas of slaves—especially slave girls. For let this truth emerge from the many facts which are buried—and let it stand out clearly: One of the main attractions of slavery, and the magnet that drew thousands of white

men on, was their sexual freedom unlimited with all the Black girls and women who were enslaved and helpless in the power of their masters. These "wholesale raids" on Black womanhood continued to swell the mulatto population, the majority of which—again as in the case of Egypt and the Sudan—became the faithful servants and loyal representatives of the conquering races to which their fathers belonged.

The Kongolese king, Affonso, found himself in the middle of fires from several directions, and hamstrung by the Portuguese advisor who had acquired veto power even over the King's actions—and Affonso was far from being a weakling. He tried, too late, to gain control of the slave trade, which control now became most urgent as every Black that competing raiders could get their hands on was enslaved, including some members of the royal household and numerous titleholders throughout the country. On the other hand, the king of Portugal declared a royal monopoly over the trade—and this not only frustrated Affonso's efforts, but clashed head-on with the interests of the powerful and independent slave merchants, the real controlling settlers on the seacoasts and islands. These were representatives of the great chartered companies that controlled the commerce of the world. Since they operated under royal charters and the Court was a principal shareholder in all such enterprises, they could not openly defy the king; but the distance from Lisbon enabled them to bypass de Silva and any other representative of the king and carry on as they wished. The mission fathers, the "War Dogs of the Lord" (Jesuits), were most helpful as spearheads into the interior chiefdoms to form slave hunting alliances in exchange for discarded guns.

For those who require the specific details and examples of just how advancing Black states were destroyed throughout the African continent—and want the facts repeated over and over again—here then is still another example in both Angola and the Kingdom of Kongo. The strategy for destruction seldom varied, and so giving added weight to my concept of a *Grand Caucasian Consensus* on matters concerning non-white peoples. The aspect now under discussion was the practice of having white groups spread out over the country into the various provinces, heavily laden with gifts of goodwill, and getting themselves attached to the courts of local chiefs as friendly advisors who were going to guarantee the security

of the chiefs and their people, and even extend their power over other peoples—all of which would mean great riches for the chiefs. A few old guns replacing spears seemed to be sufficient evidence that these whites were indeed saviours as well as friends. (The French name for them was *agents provocateurs*. The American name would have been C.I.A. or A.I.D.) No matter how strong and effective the administrative machinery of the central government at San Salvador had been, it was being undermined and destroyed by the well-planned European activities in the provinces—the identical activities that had been carried on in the Egyptian provinces three thousand years before, in Kuba, and would be repeated all over Africa. The aim was to provoke war between the Blacks, pitting the gun-armed groups against those who only had shields and spears, and thus skyrocketing the number of captives for slavery from a few thousands into millions. Not only were whole villages destroyed, but entire provinces were depopulated and their formerly proud and free citizens marched off in chains, collared and joined together with heavy poles—just as though the chains that bruised and bound hands and ankles were not enough. Many royal lineages were among the captives, including chiefs—which is exactly how it should have been if any of the people were to be enslaved. According to African tradition leader and people were one and the same, sharing a common lot. This sense of oneness, however, applied only to the members of one's tribe, and not to Africans outside of it—another tragic fact of Black history. This is why the chiefs and kings would secure prisoners of war by attacking other states. Only a savage chieftain would sell his own people into slavery. The Europeans learned this very quickly and found that it fitted in well with the general plan to keep the Blacks divided, forever suspicious of each other, and to have these mutual hatreds and suspicions historically derived not from anything the Europeans had done but from the Blacks own record of "tribal" warfare.

As the slave raids spread throughout Angola and Kongo the Blacks continued to flee again overland and up the rivers toward the central and southern areas—toward the great savanna regions and the lakes. Some, as we have seen in the case of Kuba, found security long enough to rebuild remarkable states again, others found security only in the hidden recesses of decay and decline. Meanwhile, the fierce Jaga warriors were still on a rampage, fight-

ing with or against any group, including the white slave traders. But since the Jaga generally waged war only against their own kind, Africans, the Portuguese were less hesitant in supplying them with guns. The wars to capture slaves had become so widespread among and within the various states, and the slave trails to the coasts were so heavy with barefooted traffic that it is difficult to see why any alliances with the Jaga were needed, unless it was thought to be necessary to make up for the unbelievable death toll among the captives.

For every two million Blacks enslaved over a million died. The record indicates rather clearly that many millions preferred death to slavery. I just said "the record indicates," but you will never find a single Portuguese, Dutch, Spanish, English or American document that explicitly says any such thing. The archives in Lisbon are rich to overflowing with African documents going back 500 years. By wading through a great mass of such written records the historian often gets a picture that was not intended for painting and messages from the same documents which were not sent—which is merely another way of saying again that written documents often reveal far more than their authors intended. You will therefore search in vain for an account written as the following:

". . . It is not true that all women, and even children, were likewise marched in chains; this would have been unnecessary anyway because we had learned that these black women are so loyal to their men that they would follow them even into hell. Capture their men and you did not have to capture them. Yet many of these same women would seek death directly by attacking us and our armed guards. These, of course, were beaten and chained the same as the male slaves. . . . Another problem was the large number of suicides during the two-hundred mile trek to the slave pens on the coast. The greatest number died from poison which hundreds of women would conceal on their bodies for the purpose, passing it to friends and kinsmen in the darkness of night before giving it to their children and finally taking it themselves. All this slowed us down during the night when we should have moved faster because it was cooler. Yet the dead and the dying had to have their chains chopped off from the living. Many babies were deliberately smothered to death by their dying mothers. . . . We do not be-

lieve that the other deaths were caused by the long march as some allege. For while it is true that we ourselves are carried in hammocks, the bearers are changed every ten or fifteen miles. The biggest and strongest boys are selected to carry us. They are usually between twenty and thirty years old. They also collapse sometimes, but only five have died during this year. It must be remembered that these Blacks are quite used to walking very long distances with heavy burdens. . . . There are many problems in this business. The captains, taking it easy on the coast, are always complaining about our slow movement and the many weeks it takes on the march. They never take into account how much we are slowed down by tramping and stumbling over the skeletons and rotting dead bodies of slaves that went along these trails before us—sometimes years before us. The stench of those who died recently is unbearable, yet we bear it. We also lose much time trying to find routes down which are free of the dead and dying. Then there are scores and scores of perfectly healthy Blacks who drop dead without any apparent cause. Some say they die out of sheer spite—another way of defeating us. . . . We work in fear, for our guns are often useless in the increasing number of ambush attacks along these death-ridden trails. And while the Kongolese kings now harass us in their attempts to check the spread of the trade, the real danger is in the Angola region, the region of the Black Terror in the form of a death-defying Black queen, Ann Nzinga. Who ever heard of a woman general, leading her armies in person? The truth is that she is the greatest military strategist that ever confronted the armed forces of Portugal. Her tactics keep our commanders sweating in confusion and dismay. Her aim is nothing less than the total destruction of the slave trade. To this end—and what alarms us most—she has developed a system of infiltrating our Black troops with her own men, causing whole companies to rebel, desert, and join her armies in what she calls a 'War of Liberation. . . .' Portuguese casualties are always heavier than reported, for she stages surprise attacks with lightning speed, always aiming first to capture guns and cannons. And while we now surround ourselves with armed guards on these long marches, we never know how many of our Black soldiers are the Queen's own men! . . ."

This would have been a true account up to 1663 when the forty years of unrelenting warfare that Queen Nzinga waged against the Portuguese to free Angola ended with her passing. Africa had lost her greatest daughter, the slaves their greatest emancipator. Where is this explicitly written? Nowhere.

* * *

It has been pointed out that Affonso was himself a statesman, and far from being a mere puppet in the hands of the Portuguese. Even though the process got under way with his conversion to Christianity and the replacement of his own African name with a Portuguese one, he was awakened by the *Code*, and began to resist and reject those provisions which were designed to make Africans black Portuguese in the name of Christ, while destroying their sovereignty at the same time. The fact that the enemy prevailed in the end does not detract from his stature as a great African. The pressures had increased as Portuguese riches from the slave trade, far from satisfying their greed, led them in excited searches for gold, silver, copper and lead they believed to be in abundance in the region, but concealed by the Blacks.

Pressures from the African population increased with the widespread slave hunts and raids. Historians have highlighted the role of African chiefs and kings in the slave trade; little is said about the general African opposition to the trade or about the kings and chiefs who led the fight against it. Yet, by the very nature of the situation, these had to be as well known as the Blacks who enriched themselves from the traffic. Queen Nzinga was not the only African abolitionist. It just happened that in her case she was not only involved in treaty negotiations of record, but operated over so many Angolan areas that she could not be easily excluded from history. The Kongolese opposing their kings were fighting both slavery and the Christian Church that promoted it. Even the broader education they all so passionately desired turned out to be a farce, another Western bait. The "schools," rigidly restricted in number and attendance, were little more than Catholic catechetical classes, under semi-literate priests who were themselves not only slave dealers, but the personification of all that is meant by corruption and immorality. All of Affonso's efforts to get at least one

good school established in Kongo were blocked. For one thing, no real widespread education of the Blacks was intended; that would have meant sending over well-trained teachers instead of the unwanted dregs of Portuguese society. But even if Portugal had had the best intentions, she herself did not have many educated men in the sixteenth century and her own illiterate masses were just as ignorant as those in the rest of Europe.

The situation had become worse on all fronts when Diogo became king of Kongo in 1545, supported by the Lisbon court factions that could still make or break kings and influence their policies. On the other hand, the powerful trader population had their principal strongholds at strategic Luanda and Sao Thome, from which points they continued to expand slave operations in, below, around and beyond Kongo—all in defiance of Kongolese kings and the king of Portugal himself. They were greatly aided by the king (ngola) of Ndongo, the strongest state in the Angola region.⁴ But Ndongo was nominally under the Kongo as a tributary state. In 1556 war between the major conflicting groups, hitherto undercover, broke out, open and full scale: Royal Portuguese forces allied with those of Kongo against Portuguese trader forces allied with Ndongo—Portuguese against Portuguese and Africans against Africans.

So it appears on paper in the records. The simple truth is that it was a war of Africans against Africans, with the Portuguese forces safely in the rear. That Black troops were to be used in all dangerous situations and white lives safeguarded wherever possible—this was no silent "Gentleman's Agreement" or an aspect of the *Grand Caucasian Consensus*: it was, rather, an explicit royal decree from Lisbon. It was so very unnecessary—this royal order to put Blacks in the front lines of battle. This would have been done anyway as a simple matter of course. The Kongolese were defeated and Ndongo and the slave traders now controlled the whole trade. And although the war waged against them was instigated by Lisbon and directed by Manuel's own representatives in Kongo, the victorious traders used Ndongo for negotiations leading to a new alli-

4. The name "Angola," later taken from the title for the king, was not yet applied to the region that is now the Portuguese colony of Angola.

ance with Lisbon and the foundation for taking over all of Angola as a colony of Portugal. The defeat of Kongo was the defeat of Kongo, not Portugal. Even the Portuguese counselors to Diogo could now deny any responsibility for the disaster with a straight face. Yet when Diogo died five years later (1561), they were still actively on the job to choose his successor, thus promoting further turmoil in an already disintegrating nation. The murder of one king after another became almost routine. Attacks from enemy neighbors, quick to take advantage of the royal weaklings and internal chaos, marked the declining years of Kongo as a great power. Jaga warriors almost gave it a death blow in 1568, but not quite.

Things moved rapidly. In 1575, Angola became a colony of Portugal by a royal decree ONLY, and Mother Kongo, fighting for her own life, could only weep at the permanent loss of her greatest offspring. But does not the very mention of 1575 as the year Angola became a Portuguese possession—does not this seem to be sort of closing the book on the most important events prior to and after 1575, making it appear that the Kongo's near-collapse led to an almost immediate and easy takeover of Angola as a colony? This is the way historians generealy read. Well, it was not that way at all. The disintegration of the Kongolese state seemed to be complete, but it was not. There was still another revival under another line of great kings. And although the conquest of Angola was ordered by Lisbon in 1571 and began in 1575, the Portuguese, to their great surprise, had to fight their longest and bloodiest war, almost foot by foot, before Angola was finally taken nearly a half century later. They had not counted on being confronted with a Black queen who would turn out to be one of the bravest generals that ever commanded an army. They had not counted on the new Queen of Ndongo, Ann Nzinga.

QUEEN NZINGA: THE UNCONQUERABLE

Greatness was born out of the savage oppression of the Africans and out of that oppression it grew like a giant. Just why the Portuguese drew so much blood with the lash from already chained and helpless slaves is beyond all human understanding since, if for



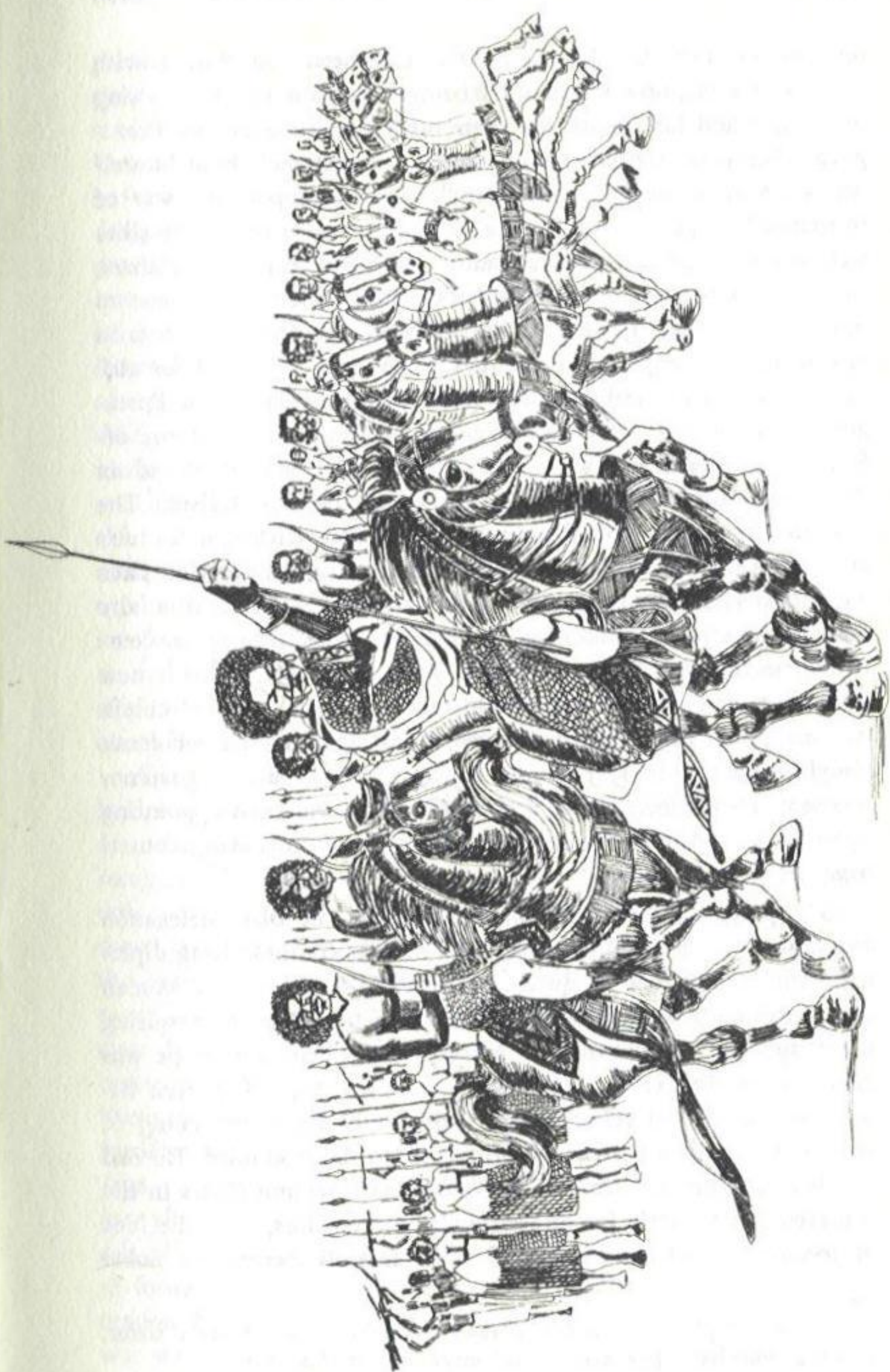
During their long wars of invasion the Portuguese met a formidable adversary in Queen Nzinga of Matamba (c. 1580-1663). In 1622 she went to Luanda on behalf of her brother, the king of Ndongo, in an effort to negotiate peace. When the Portuguese governor refused her a chair, she disdainfully called up one of her attendants and sat down as shown above.

no other reason, the victims were "articles of commerce" and the source of the very riches slavers sought. Besides, over half of the captured Blacks died before reaching their destination. Self interest, then, should have stayed the murderous hands of the slavers. Nothing did, and that fact was one of the reasons that Queen Nzinga said that the real savages in Africa were the whites. They created the conditions that brought her to the fore.

The Portuguese were so aggressive in their program of dividing the Blacks and keeping them fighting among themselves that they overshot the mark, simply went too far. The system of spreading out over the country into the provinces and allying themselves with the various chiefs has been mentioned more than once. But after 1608 the commander-in-chief of the Portuguese army tightened the noose. This was Bento Cardoso. Under his plan Angola was to be further depopulated by a massive onslaught for slaves through a closely coordinated system in which every chief in the land would be "owned" by a Portuguese and directly responsible to him for a stated quota of slaves. This would bypass the Angolan king (of Ndongo) to whom the provincial chiefs paid their taxes in slaves. This would also mean increased warfare between the chiefdoms in order to meet the increased quotas demanded by raiding into each others territories. Chiefs failing to secure the required number of slaves were themselves enslaved. Over a hundred chiefs and other notables were sold into slavery in a single year and another hundred murdered by the Portuguese.⁶ We may safely assume that the actual number of chiefs enslaved or murdered was greater than that stated above, since the Portuguese, like other nations, generally cut casualty figures for the record. The situation to be considered here however, is the widespread confusion and terror among a hunted and leaderless people. To make matters even worse—if that was possible, the half-savage Jaga, who would join anybody for their favorite game of looting and raping—became allies

5. For quite a different version see Portuguese sources, such as the works of the Capauchin monk, Joao Antonio Cavazzi, *Descricao e Historia dos tres Reinos, do Congo, Matamba e Angola*; and the soldier, Antonio de Olivera Cadornega, *Historia Geral dos Guerras Angolanos*. Reprinted 1965 and 1942 respectively, Lisbon.

6. Some accounts give 80 as the number massacred.



The Pioneer, N.Y.

"Africa's greatest daughter," Queen Nzinga of Angola, leading her troops against the Portuguese armies against which she fought for forty years.

of Cardoso. The Angolan king, who had been cooperating with the slave traders, now saw himself being ruined on all fronts, losing his people and his profits. He therefore began to resist the Portuguese. The people, even though they knew that their king himself was a slaver, in sheer desperation flocked to support the war of resistance.⁷ It paid off. Both the Portuguese and their Jaga allies were checked, and the war dragged on year after year. After Kabasa, the capital city, fell to the Portuguese, their losses had become so heavy that the new governor who had been sent from Lisbon with firm orders to complete the conquest of Angola "once and for all," nevertheless was forced to sue for peace without victory. The Portuguese had suffered a disastrous defeat by the Blacks, but the official version—and excuse—was that there was "general illness" in their ranks. Yet the Portuguese insisted on holding Kabasa. The Africans therefore rejected peace proposals as a trick and the war was resumed in a land of famine where food crops and the slave trade itself had come to a standstill. In this desperate state of affairs the fighting somehow continued, with both sides obviously weakened and in disarray. It was during this period, in 1619, that a new Portuguese commander managed to murder over a hundred chiefs. At this point the Pope intervened, insisting that the wholesale slaughter be ended and peace be pursued. In 1622 a new governor was sent from Lisbon to make peace. Portugal had been appointing "governors of Angola" for over forty years without having control over it.

The peace conference was held at Luanda. The Black delegation was headed by the country's ablest and most uncompromising diplomat, Ann Nzinga, not yet queen, but sister of the king—the woman power behind a weak king, and the one responsible for inspiring the people to continue the war of resistance when every hope was gone, unless she herself had become their last hope. But even before the peace conference began, and at the risk of wrecking it, the governor's Caucasian arrogance could not be restrained. He had decided on a studied insult at the outset by providing chairs in the conference room only for himself and his councilors, with the idea of forcing the Black princess to stand humbly before his noble

7. The people were actually rallying behind the King's sister, Nzinga, who had opposed him for engaging in slave trade.

presence. He remained seated, of course, staring haughtily as she entered the room. She took in the situation at a glance with a contemptuous smile, while her attendants moved with a swiftness that seemed to suggest that they had anticipated this stupid behaviour by the Portuguese. They quickly rolled out the beautifully designed royal carpet they had brought before Nzinga, after which one of them went down on all-fours and expertly formed himself into a "royal throne" upon which the princess sat easily without being a strain on her devoted follower. Yet she rose at regular intervals, knowing that other attendants were vying for the honor of thus giving to these whites still another defeat. I gather from the different ways this incident is reported that the Western mind is unable to grasp its real meaning. Some historians saw it as a cruel and inhuman use of slaves, ignoring the fact that Nzinga's chief claim to fame was that she was the greatest abolitionist of slavery, that she herself had no slaves and, indeed, had not the slightest need for any. One reason might well be that she was so much loved and even blindly followed by her people that it was believed that all would die to the last man and woman following her leadership. Such were the men, not slaves, who gladly formed a human couch before the astonished Portuguese for their leader.

She faced the Portuguese governor and spoke as a ruler of the land, and not as a subject of the king of Portugal. She did not recognize the man in the big chair as governor because she did not recognize the existence of a Portuguese "colony of Angola." She only saw before her what her people had seen approaching their shores over a hundred years before—pompous white devils bent on the destruction of the non white world. The Ndongo terms for peace were presented as uncompromising demands, and it was clear from the beginning that the Portuguese would have fared better with a man. For before any kind of treaty was signed Portugal had to agree (1) to evacuate Kabasa and all nearby fortifications; (2) the Portuguese were to wage war against the Jaga (a harsh provision since the Jaga had been Portugal's allies in trying to crush Ndongo); (3) all chiefs who had become vassals of the Portuguese king were to be freed and enabled to return to former tributary status at home and, finally, the important concession Nzinga made was to return the Portuguese prisoners-of-war she held. The treaty of 1622 was supposed to end all fighting

in the whole West-Central region. But the governor, as though to make up for his defeat in the peace negotiations with Nzinga, marched off to invade Kongo again almost immediately. The treaty then became dead insofar as its execution was concerned. But Nzinga's brother died the next year and she became Queen of Ndongo. The distressed Portuguese, in order to discredit her, put out the story that she had poisoned him. And while there was not a scintilla of evidence or any basis at all for the concoction, historians have shown their *unbiased objectivity* by faithfully carrying on the charge for over three hundred years. Yet if lying is a legitimate aspect of warfare, the Portuguese may have felt justified in trying to destroy such an implacable foe in any way they could.⁸ Their greatest trouble was yet to come.

Nzinga became queen in 1623, and went into action at once. Her first major move was to send an ultimatum to the Portuguese authorities demanding the immediate execution of the terms of the treaty—otherwise war would be declared. While the Portuguese were preparing to meet the Queen's armies, the Dutch fleet appeared as a new threat. The Dutch, themselves great slavers, certainly did not come as liberators of the hard-pressed Blacks. Their aim was to break the Portuguese monopoly and secure their share of the slave trade and the mineral wealth of West and Central Africa. To further these ends, they used the Blacks as other white peoples did and still do. So no time was lost in forming an alliance with Pedro II, King of Kongo, in his war with the Portuguese. The Dutch had already captured seven Portuguese slave ships at sea, sunk other vessels in the harbors at Luanda and Mpinda, and were raising hell generally. All this gave Queen Nzinga more time to prepare for the inevitable. She even reversed her demands for a Portuguese war against the Jaga and formed a military alliance with them herself. Knowing how very unreliable the Jaga were, she sought to make the alliance binding by promising to marry the Jaga chief, Kasanji, and adopting certain desirable Jaga customs.

Nzinga's greatest act, however—and probably the one that makes her one of the greatest women in history—was in 1624 when

8. I am not unaware that Nzinga hated her brother not only because he was a slave trader, but also because he had murdered her young son who, being the king's nephew, was heir to the throne.

she declared all territory in Angola over which she had control was *Free Country*, all slaves reaching it from whatever quarter were forever free. She went further. Since it was clear to her that *White Power* in Africa rested squarely on the use of Black troops against Black people, she undertook the first and only carefully organized effort to undermine and destroy the effective employment and use of Black soldiers by whites—the first and only Black leader in history who was ever known to undertake such a task. She had carefully selected groups of her own soldiers to infiltrate the Portuguese Black armies, first separating and spreading out individually into Portuguese held territory and allowing themselves to be “induced” by Portuguese recruiting agents to join their forces. The quiet and effective work of Nzinga’s agents among the Black troops of Portugal was one of the most glorious, yet unsung, pages in African history. For whole companies rebelled and deserted to the colors of the Black queen, taking with them the much needed guns and ammunition which she had been unable to secure except by swiftly moving surprise attacks on enemy units. The Queen’s armies were further strengthened by the runaway slaves who streamed into the only certain haven for the free on the whole continent of Africa. To the Portuguese Queen Nzinga had passed the last word in unheard-of audacity when she was able to influence scores of vassal chiefs to rebel against them and join the cause of their own race. This was too much. This woman had to be destroyed. It had come to that.

The Portuguese sent their ultimatum to the Queen from their Luanda stronghold—Portugal’s Lisbon in Africa. It demanded the immediate return of all chiefs, soldiers and slaves to Portuguese territory; that is, all who had fled therefrom. Refusal would mean war, the ultimatum concluded. The fact was that a state of war already existed since the Queen’s own ultimatum of the previous year. The Portuguese were afraid to move against her then and they were even more afraid to move against her stronger forces now, although they continued to give the Dutch threat as the reason for delaying the required all-out attack. Meanwhile, the usual strategy of first instigating factional strife among the Blacks was by no means forgotten. It was just that there was so much unity and patriotism in this dominant Angola state, so much fanatical devotion to this “terrible Black Queen,” that internal subversion

was almost impossible. They tried to overcome all this by formally declaring that Nzinga was not legally Queen of Ndongo, the throne vacant, and one of their own vassal chiefs, Aidi Kiluanji, was declared king. The Portuguese marshalled all of their forces on land and sea, their special river fleets in particular, to crush Nzinga before the Dutch struck again. But the Queen herself opened the offensive, striking first at the Portuguese puppet king and his forces. The Portuguese captured her principal island stronghold in the Cuanza river in July, 1626, thus dividing her forces and, by a swift encircling movement designed to capture the Queen, cut off her main supporting regiments and forced her not only to retreat but to withdraw from her country. Joy reigned at Luanda and Sao Thome. With Nzinga's flight from Angola it appeared that the Black menace was over and victory complete. Aidi Kiluanji was crowned King Philip I of Ndongo.

The solidarity of the Blacks remained unbroken, however, and their loyalty to Nzinga remained steadfast. She was "just away a little while," and would soon return. Any child in the most distant bush could tell you that their Queen was "just away on business." So who was this Philip I? His name said he was a Portuguese, so he couldn't be King of Ndongo. All Angolan kings and queens were so African that they couldn't be tricked out of their own African names. The Queen herself had dropped "Anna" from her name when she discovered that baptizing a Black into Christianity meant surrendering his soul and body not to any Christ, but to the white man. And oral tradition further has it that the people not only rejected "Philip I," but made fun of the very idea that he considered himself to be king. Their blind faith in their Queen and the certainty of her return, according to the same oral record, was not really so blind. Those who understood the coded drum messages spread the news that all guerilla attacks which occurred throughout the land were attacks which were personally directed by the Queen and that, in fact, she was raising a new army of liberation. Her loyal chiefs and people in Ndongo were to stand by, ready.

The written record, no matter how slanted, supports the oral. For in November, 1627, she crossed the borders back into her country at the head of a strong army—made stronger and stronger as her loyal chiefs and wildly cheering people—including her fanati-

cally devoted freed men—flocked to her standard as she swept forward to recapture the Cuanza stronghold held by Philip I and put him to flight. The Portuguese continued to be amazed at this display of Black unity—and under a woman's leadership at that. Black unity was now seen clearly as Black Power, and that meant an unconquerable people. The Portuguese were resolved to break that unity and the power that developed from it. The revolt against them had become general as Nzinga's victorious forces advanced. The Portuguese retreated to their own strongholds on the coast, giving the Dutch threat as an excuse—and not the threat of being annihilated by the Queen's forces.

But as there was in fact no imminent Dutch threat, the Portuguese regrouped and strengthened their forces for an all-out war to destroy Nzinga and, this time, not to cease fighting until this was done. They began by giving orders and offering a big reward for her capture, dead or alive. Their slave troops, still the backbone of the Portuguese armed forces, were given the special inducements of land and freedom for her capture. Realizing that such an all-out attempt to capture her meant that countless thousands of her people would die in her defense, she outwitted the Portuguese again by slipping out of the country, instructing her lieutenants to spread the word everywhere that she had fled the country, mistakenly entered the territory of an enemy, and had been killed. To give point to the story, there was general weeping and mourning throughout Ndongo—real weeping and mourning, because the masses believed the story to be true. So did the Portuguese. The only reason for the war having been removed by Providence, the Bishop could celebrate a special mass in celebration of this special blessing, and the Colony of Angola could at last be organized after over fifty years of obstruction. All things now seemed to be happy and going well according to the original grand design.

Then in 1629 the Portuguese stood aghast when Queen Nzinga 'burst upon them from the grave,' sweeping all opposition before her. She brought in her fierce Jaga allies with her, apparently willing to do even this to defeat the whites. The Portuguese were completely defeated. She had not only retaken her own country but had, meanwhile, become Queen of Matamba also, having replaced the weak Queen there. Nzinga was now an empress of two countries. She now redoubled her campaign against slavery and the

slave trade by making both Ndongo and Matamba havens for all who could escape from the slaver by rebelling or otherwise.⁹ Chiefs engaged in the traffic in nearby states now stood in fear of her wrath. The Portuguese saw "the handwriting on the wall." In order not to lose every foothold in the area, Lisbon suddenly remembered that it had never carried out the treaty signed with Nzinga in 1622, and declared that Portugal's wars against her had been unjust! High level embassies were sent to the Queen in 1639 in efforts to effect a settlement. Nzinga received them, listened to their protestations of eternal friendship, and went ahead with determination in reorganizing both of her kingdoms and undermining colonial rule in areas held by the enemy. That every white man in Africa was an enemy of the Blacks was a matter about which there was no room for debate in her mind. Even the holy robes of the priests in Angola not only covered their real mission as agents of empire, but also covered their insatiable lust for the Black bodies of their helpless slave girls.¹⁰ She had been forced by the actualities of black-white relations to distrust all whites, along with their tricky treaties.

By 1641 the Dutch had made great progress in reducing the power of Portugal all along the coast, and Nzinga's adamant position made their situation an impossible one to maintain. So a despairing governor and council had no choice but to declare war against her once again—a full-scale war. But the situation was now most favorable for the Angolans. Their northern neighbor, Kongo, had become more active in its own war against the Portuguese and, besides, a new and greater king had assumed the leadership. This

9. Queen Nzinga's anti-slavery crusade did not mean that she herself did not hold her own captives in bondage, including the Portuguese. The Portuguese had changed the nature of slavery into a racial pattern, and Nzinga was particularly ruthless with captured Black chiefs who were allies of the whites. She did not hesitate to sell such chiefs and their followers into slavery.

10. The Queen was further outraged over the success of the Portuguese in capturing both of her younger sisters. This gave the enemy a most powerful bargaining weapon. Yet she continued to reject all of their principal demands, with the result that her sisters—to whom she was deeply devoted—remained in captivity for many years.

was Garcia II, who continued the policy of cooperating with the Dutch where and when Kongolesse interests were involved. (Some Black leaders had learned to use the whites as they had always used them: When it served their own interests.) The other happy development for Ndongo was that the Dutch invasion of Portuguese-held areas had actually begun in 1641 before any moves could be made against either of the two Black states, Kongo and Ndongo.¹¹

Nzinga continued her campaign against the Portuguese, winning victories everywhere a battle was joined. With Dutch aid, the great Portuguese stronghold of Masangano fell in 1648. The Dutch, having previously captured Luanda, now found themselves threatened by the steady reinforcements that continued to pour in from Portuguese Brazil. The Dutch withdrew, leaving the Blacks in the area, who had helped them to capture and defend this the most important Portuguese city in Africa, to fend for themselves alone. While the chiefs and their forces did indeed put up a gallant fight, they were massacred in one of the most savage onslaughts on record. The recapture of Luanda by Salvador de Sa, the new governor, and his crushing of Black opposition there, led him to initiate new peace efforts with Kongo and Nzinga's two kingdoms. The Kongolesse king refused to answer his letter, but did send a monk to hear the governor's terms. Nzinga also agreed to efforts at negotiations. These gestures by the two African leaders led Salvador de Sa to advise the king of Portugal that all the African states were cowed and their power broken. He knew better, of course, for even the chiefs and their people in his own Portuguese-held territory were still fighting on despite the massacres, and probably because of them.

If the Portuguese had been able to conquer either Kongo or Ndongo-Matamba, no peace offers would have been made. Hadn't they tried it over and over and failed? To be able to conquer both now was out of the question. So the old conquest route was being tried again: The beguiling smiles and protestations of friendship,

11. We must continue to skip over much in every region that is briefly covered in this work. This is often painful, as here, for example, I am unable to deal with the quite relevant struggle of the unconquerable Dembo people against the Portuguese and slavery. But this must wait until Black history is written in depth, period by period, region by region and state by state.

finding concrete expression in negotiations for peace. The language of diplomacy reached its most brilliant heights of deception in those velvety clauses of proposed treaties which the Africans, if they signed them, would be signing themselves and their people into perpetual bondage. This fact was supposed to be assured by the other fact that the relevant clauses were so ambiguous that they could be interpreted in several different ways—in this case in whatever way the Portuguese chose to interpret them. The very same provisions of the treaties could be read and explained to the Blacks in such language that it would appear that the Europeans were not only humbling themselves but also proclaiming the outcome as a glorious victory for the Africans. For of course no Blacks—not even an Nzinga—was supposed to be intelligent enough, sharply intelligent enough, to see through all this. But, stripping away all the glittering verbiage, Nzinga saw at a glance that what it all meant was that she was to be a vassal of the Portuguese king, and one paying him a big annual tribute. She would die first. And no one should have known this better than the Portuguese who at the time of this latest treaty offer had been at war with her—and repeatedly defeated—for over twenty-eight years. They had met one of the giants of the human race which they found impossible to recognize as such because she appeared on the planet not only as a woman but one with black skin. Nzinga, therefore, kept them anxiously waiting for action on the treaty, toying with it for six years, while giving her war-torn land and tired-out people a period for rest and recovery. She was the same Queen who had twice fled the country not to save herself but to save her people from a slaughter that her flight would prevent. For the same reason she did not want the war resumed again after over forty years of warfare. On the other hand, she would not surrender her country to Portugal and its slave trade. The areas of Angola they still held, including the important islands of Luanda and Sao Thome, belonged to the Angolan people, and some of these areas belonged directly to her own kingdoms of Ndongo and Matamba. Finally, then, in 1656—tired and weary from four decades of relentless struggles—she signed a treaty that was revised and made acceptable to her. Her greatest concession allowed the Portuguese puppet king, Aidi, to head the territory conceded to them.

There were seven more years of a busy life for Queen Nzinga

—pushing reconstruction, the resettlement of ex-slaves, and undertaking the development of an economy of free men and women that would be able to succeed without the slave trade. She could not have been unaware that, with the Portuguese still strongly entrenched in the most strategic areas, unless she was succeeded by equally great leaders, all of her labors in defense of the freedom of the Blacks would ultimately be in vain. That was the burning question in 1663 as a dull autumn sun lengthened the shadows over the palace grounds where thousands stood in tears: Were there any more Garcias anywhere? Would God send them another Nzinga to hold the line against the truly white devils? The sun slowly went down behind the Angolan trees and darkness spread over the land. Over three hundred years later the Blacks of Angola are still fighting the Portuguese, and still waiting for the sunrise.

In the heart-torn state of national mourning the Queen's Council permitted two priests to come in and perform the last rites of the Church. Since the Queen had renounced the Catholic religion many years before her passing, had banned missions from her country as centers of subversion, this appearance of priests at the royal bedside may be explained either as a once-a-Catholic-always-a-Catholic theory, or as an attempt by Catholic Portugal to give the appearance of final victory on all fronts. In this case it would mean that the most unconquerable of foes, recanting and submissive, had been conquered by their religion in the end. And so it is written in the official documents of Portugal—written that Nzinga returned to the Church that had baptized her "Anna"—the written record used by almost all historians of Africa. Yet she was one of the very first of the Blacks to see that the Portuguese conquests, the slave trade, and the Church were all inseparably one and the same. The long years of warfare had been equally against all three—the unholy trinity. She never surrendered to either. In 1963—three hundred years after her death—her people, now Catholic themselves, did not believe she ever returned to the Church.¹²

12. For a more detailed study of Queen Nzinga, see Roy Arthur Glasgow's *The Warrior Queen*, John Wiley & Sons, 1969, and *Queen Nzinga and the Mbundu Resistance to the Portuguese Slave Trade*, scheduled for publication 1971 by Oxford University Press. Note in particular the great difference in the account of the last days of the Queen and that of mine.

CHAPTER XI

The Last of the Black Empires

ON A BALMY SPRING AFTERNOON IN 1964, I CAME OUT of a large cave where archaeologists had been working and climbed up the highest of the six hills in the area. In the valley and as far as the eyes could see there was so much of the same breathtaking natural beauty that had been seen everywhere in the country that one might wonder whether the Garden of Eden surpassed it. I was standing in the heart of Monomotapa (now white-ruled Rhodesia), the last of the black empires in Africa. (Abyssinia, or modern Ethiopia, has been under Semitic or Solomonid rule for centuries. The ruling house traces its line to King Solomon).

Up to this point we have been dealing very largely with states created or expanded by migrating groups before the coming of Asians and Europeans into their territories. We have, therefore, been looking at purely African-created institutions. But the picture has been very much skewed by the fact that very little attention was given to the advanced state of early civilization in other parts of the continent prior to the incursions of this or that group of immigrants after the 1200s (A.D.) This kind of treatment has misled many in the belief that a highly advanced civilization existed only in the Nile regions of ancient Ethiopia (Egypt and the Sudan), and was spread southward therefrom by the various waves of immigrants. The simple truth is that there were northward migrations as well as southward from the earliest times. That these

early Black brothers from the south probably brought more to their Black brothers in Egypt than they borrowed from them is becoming clearer as our research develops. The stepped-up waves of "crisis migrations" after the destruction of the Ethiopian Empire should not obscure the central facts.

The invading immigrants, then, often found the already existing states as well organized and with institutions as highly advanced as their own had been before the 13th century. But, almost without exception, they all had one thing in common—the one thing that made each one so easy to conquer first by Black invaders and later by white invaders: They were all small; the smaller and weaker the state, the more fiercely "independent" it was. The African continent presented a vast, vast panorama of mini-states—at once a vast panorama of disunity and weakness. The reorganizing invaders tended to expand territorially over many of these adjacent states, thus forcing a kind of artificial unity. Unlike the Kuba of Shyaam and the Angola of Nzinga, few undertook the great task of developing a sense of national community among the many diverse groups that made up the state. The Vakaranga immigrants who developed the Empire of Monomotapa followed the general practice of establishing effective political rule, while promoting economic development.

As forecast above, however, we shall look briefly at the people and their civilization some centuries before the Vakaranga advent in the early 1400s. The land and the people to be covered by the Empire extended from the north above the Zambezi River, included Rhodesia, westward to the Kalahara, eastward over Mozambique to the Indian Ocean, and southward into the Transvaal in South Africa below the Limpopo River (Vembe).

Since the archaeological evidence gathered all over this vast territory makes it clear that iron technology and allied crafts were well advanced here long before the Christian era, the spread of the economic revolution over Africa by the iron age may have come from this southern center as well as from Meroe in the northeast. From the period roughly indicated as early as 300 B.C., the states which were to form the Empire of Monomotapa were engaged in a wide range of diversified economic activities that led not only to interstate trade but foreign commerce over the Indian Ocean as well.

This economic development was inextricably an index of the development of their civilization. The drive for the attainment of excellence in everything produced was reflected in their artistic endeavors even on common utilities where art could hardly be expected. The huge jars for storing grain were glazed and as beautifully channelled as the cups used by priests and kings. Here, as elsewhere in early Africa, there seems to have been an insatiable drive for beauty and perfection. There was an underlying philosophy: Each craftsman felt that his finished work was at once a reflection and actual measure of what he himself was, his character. The industrial activities, particularly mining, overshadowed agriculture and even threatened the existence of this very basic economy. Over four thousand ancient mining sites have been discovered, and no one claims that these are all. Iron ore, gold and, to a lesser extent, copper and tin were the leading industrial activities, although ivory and ivory carvings always played a considerable role in the total economy.

These widespread industrial activities, along with the ever increasing number of cattle brought in by migrating pastoral groups, drove the farmers to the hills—to a new type of terrace farming on every available hillside, and the building of mounds for the same purpose where there were no hills. As difficult as all this was, the genius of African man was further tested in overcoming the more formidable problem of water and an irrigation system for hillsides and mounds. Widespread mining meant widespread deforestation because of the demand for timber for charcoal production—another industry by itself. Soil erosion kept pace, unchecked. The steady disappearance of grasslands was assured by cattle and other roaming animals that fed on grass, the goats being the most ravishing. The agricultural life of the country was sustained by intensive terrace farming in the northeast region of which Inyanga was the center.

By 1200 A.D. production and international trade had already reached the high level affluence that was to attract Arabs and Europeans to this land. Gold was the leading export commodity, although there was also a great demand in India for the superior type of ironware processed in Monomotapa. The African smelting process and type of iron ore peculiar to the region enabled them to produce the best swords, spears and other weapons that could be found anywhere. The iron industries created an economic revolution not only

in warfare but also in the production of farming tools, household and kitchenware, and better mining tools. The crafts of blacksmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths and tinsmiths were the most important, each being a well organized secret society. Quite early, and without any "Bronze Age" period, they experimented with alloys of tin and copper and began the production of bronze and bronze implements on a limited scale. The widespread pottery finds of so many different types indicate the vastness of their ceramics industries. The decorative designs of all pottery, as well as on all other artifacts found seem to tell us that all of these early craftsmen were artists also. That there were many other highly skilled and professional classes is evident from the total cultural record these early Blacks left behind in Southern Africa. The several thousand mining sites of so many different kinds—iron, gold, copper, tin—suggest expert prospectors, just as the ruins of nearby temples and other beautifully designed stone structures tell us that there were great Black architects and stone-masons here just as they had been in Black Egypt when the first pyramids were built there.

But the ancient ruins of so many cities, towns and villages are the stony pages of the unwritten history we seek. And just as written records of Black history were destroyed, here too in Monomotapa the first Arabs and Europeans to find these long since deserted sites undertook wrecking and destroying operations on a scale beyond belief. These were your modern men, your civilizers of other men. Hidden and lost in the tangled vines and trees of forests, many stone temples were still defying the centuries of passing time and standing in all the dignity of their colonnaded beauty until the 20th century when they were wrecked by the same people who had wrecked the race of the builders. The fact that almost all of these ruins were located in or near gold mining areas enabled some writers to "explain" that the wanton destruction was carried on in a feverish search for gold. But anyone viewing the nature and scale of the demolition of the massive stone structures would find it difficult to see how the search for gold involved the destruction of buildings.

Their efforts were in vain, however. So much could be reassembled, reconstructed; so much could not be destroyed at all. There was, therefore, a record left written in stone—a record that tells the story of Blacks who were building a highly developed civilization in Southern Africa during the same ancient period that their brothers

were amazing the world by their advances in Northern Ethiopia (Egypt) and its southern region (Sudan).

THE EMPIRE BUILDERS

We have been establishing that the high civilization of Monomopata, for which the invading Vakaranga have been credited, antedated their coming by at least 1,500 years. During this long period, before the Rosvi chiefs led their people into the region in 1400 (circ.), there were many changes and improvements in the methods and styles of the various crafts. The changes are shown by determining the period of such artifacts as pottery and the architectural designs of buildings. The Vakaranga simply continued to build upon and further develop preexisting states. Their greatest achievement was in welding several strong states and some lesser ones into one great empire. Their second greatest achievement was the reclaiming of the seacoast lands that had been leased by the states to Asians as trading posts, but over which the Asians had gradually assumed absolute sovereignty. It is the same old story of the same techniques of penetration and domination that had to be repeated over and over in these pages as we moved from country to country; Ethiopia, Makuria, Alwa, Ghana, Mali, Songhay, the Mossi States, Kongo, Angola, Kuba—all were destroyed as a direct result of the first trading post footholds established in their lands. And so it was for the other states on the continent, large and small. None withstood the Sirens' songs of the fabulous riches to be gained from trade. As the history of this region of Africa is generally written, one gathers that the advanced cultures on the seacoast and key islands were of Asian origin, the Black barbarians being confined to the interior. The fact is that, while readily granting concessions for trade and settlement to the Asians on lands along the Indian Ocean coastline, Africans did not withdraw but remained as active sea captains, sailors, traders, boat and ship builders and, in short, in all the on-going occupations along the coasts. The builders of stone cities in the interior also built where Arabs, Indians and later Portuguese settled at Sofala, Chinde, Quelimane and farther north at Kilwa. When the cattle-breeding Vakaranga came into the country under the leadership of the Rosvi ruling clan they found the indigenous people more highly advanced than themselves. The fact

that so many of the states came into prominence between 13th and 16th centuries were further reorganized and expanded by newcomers has tended to obscure the preexisting civilization upon which the immigrants built. There were several kinds of invaders. Some were from a homeland only recently broken up. These could make immediate contributions from their own society of whatever was new and advanced, whatever skills or technologies that had not been lost or forgotten; other migrating groups had been on the move from one settlement to another for so many generations that they had lost some of the most essential elements in the heritage of their distant forebearers during these constant movements from place to place—movements which were the most potent factors in disintegrating civilization itself; and still other invaders were ruthless barbarians "pure and simple." Even these, after being absorbed by an advanced population were often given the credit for the new advances made by the state. Some of the societies in this great region were on different levels of development. Among these were the Sotho, Tswana, Matadyatadya or the so-called "Bushmen," the Vatonga *et al.* The Arabs, of course, had been slowly penetrating the interior from their seacoast footholds for over two hundred years before the Vakaranga arrived. By 1400 they had their trading posts scattered throughout the independent states which were to form the Empire. According to D. P. Abraham, by 1500 about 10,000 Arabs were stationed at different points in the interior. They had been penetrating inland all the way from beyond Kilwa to stations southward below Sofala. The major built-in threat was complete before the first great Vakaranga king surveyed the scene.

THE GREAT MUTOTA

The year was 1440. The king was Mutota. In just about any other land he would be known to history as Mutota the Great. He and his council were apparently quick to see that even the most advanced states, each standing independently and alone, were doomed unless unified into a single nation with a strong central government. This should be achieved by voluntary association if possible. The divisive influence of the Arabs operating in the capitals of the respective states had to be obvious, as they appeared not to feel it necessary to be either as secretive or as subtle as their Portuguese enemies.

Both the Arabs and the Europeans had one thing in common, however: Both had the deeply rooted conviction that they knew the Blacks and that their power over them and the continued ability to garner their endless wealth rested squarely on keeping them divided and continuously at each other's throats. No one, except the Blacks themselves, needed any argument to show that Black unity meant black power and black power meant an end to white domination—Eastern and Western.

Mutota and the new leaders saw and understood this very well. They knew where almost all the gold, copper, iron and tin had been going from over 4,000 mines. They knew how all the stratagems used by the Blacks to bar the Arabs from the interior had failed—and would continue to fail as long as the Arabs controlled all overseas trade by controlling the entire seaboard and, having done so unchallenged for so long that they now claimed sovereignty over the whole coastal area. Therefore, Mutota in 1440 began the campaign to carry out his own "Grand Design"—a great plan that aimed at nothing less than uniting Blacks in a vast empire that cut across South Africa below the Limpopo River, covered Rhodesia with an indefinite boundary beyond the Zambezi River in Zambia, and on over Mozambique to the Indian Ocean, sweeping southward again to repossess the entire coastline fronting the new empire.

Now is all of this the same version as given by Abraham and other Western historians? Would an Arab historian, no matter what the facts might be, present it this way? Of course not. The Western historians, employing their usual club to crush rebellion from the masters' viewpoints, would proclaim 'sheer Romanticism!' For, see here now, listen: Does not Professor Abraham make it quite clear at the very outset that no Black man, king or commoner, could have conceived of such a vast undertaking? What Black man, unaided by whites, could have Mutota's great and awe-inspiring vision? Abraham and his school might well thank their God that there were many white Arabs around to whom such credit could be given. After a review of so many centuries of the ideological stance of writers where Blacks are concerned, anger and outrage should be replaced with amusement. For it has become amusing—to this writer at any rate—to witness the sweating dilemma of these investigators when confronted with any kind of all-black achievements—even in relatively unimportant and routine matters which any human beings,

any people of any race anywhere would be thought capable of achieving. But where Blacks are involved in anything considered outstanding, the whites somehow feel threatened. What is threatened, of course, is the deeply rooted presupposition of the innate inferiority of the Blacks. If somewhere in their long history a single record of outstanding achievement by Blacks was found by whites and declared at once to be such, rather than "evidently" non-negroid, —if this was ever done the Black world has been unable to discover it and, if there is an error here or a misconception, a correction is welcomed.

But, returning to the traditional white line in this case of the Vakaranga king, Abraham and others say that the Arabs persuaded him to unify and expand the country north and south and to the Indian Ocean—the Arabs who had nothing to gain from a strong and unified Black empire and might lose what they had. Professor Abraham says that the Arabs "conceived and implanted in the mind of the Rosvi King a desire for empire."¹ The empire was to serve as an "effective umbrella," protecting their operations in the country from the Portuguese. Scholarly reasoning—logical? Of course—except that there were no Portuguese or Portuguese threat in the area in 1440. They did not arrive until 65 years later.

Meanwhile Mutota moved forward. His first move was to recruit and build up strong, well-trained armies, each under an able general. He displayed the mark of a great executive by his keen insight in the evaluation and selection of men for posts of high responsibility and, in so doing, securing the active support of the Great Council of the realm. It is significant, too, that his leadership strategy included recruiting soldiers from the surrounding states which were not yet a part of the projected empire. Another important move was to secure unity through the voluntary association of as many states as possible before any conquests by force was attempted. The usual African pattern of empire building was followed: All states joining the imperial union were not only assured of autonomy but special rights also, such as membership in the Great Council of the Empire—a privilege denied territories that had to be con-

1. D. P. Abraham, "MARAMUCA: An Exercise in the Combined use of: Portuguese Records and Oral Tradition," *Journal of African History*, Vol. II, No. 2, 1961.

quered. With these policies reaffirmed and settled, Mutota's formidable armies began their sweep in the different planned directions and fields of operation. The main drive was northward under the command of the King himself. Within ten years all territory between the Limpopo in South Africa to the Zambezi had been brought under imperial rule. The great undertaking was far from completion when Mutota died in 1450. The objectives had been worked out in detailed specifications of a blueprint for expansion, unification and development of a great empire composed of great states.

Unlike most of the societies we have been studying, the Vakaranga clans had become patrilineal. Therefore, Mutota's son rather than his nephew was the successor to the throne. This was a happy circumstance, since the son, Matope, turned out to be as great a statesman-king and general as his late father. He had the greater task because some of the most powerful states in the "Blueprint" had yet to be won, and breaking Arab control over the seacoasts—the greatest undertaking—had not been achieved. Matope assumed the leadership aggressively, having the good fortune of securing the same loyalty the ablest generals had given to his father, supported by fanatically devoted soldiers. This was no accident, for Matope himself had been a popular young commander during his father's reign. Above all, Changa and Togwa, two of Matope's greatest generals, were his friends. The armies were reorganized, strengthened by relentless training, and expanded.

This display of both strength and unity among the Blacks puzzled the Arabs. This was something new, amazing. They had a long history of dealing with Blacks, and nothing was better known than the disunity, mutual suspicions and the hostility of one group toward another. So how explain this spectacle of over thirty different tribal groups forming solid phalanxes of unity under Black leaders? Moreover, the Arabs, who had always maintained their own Black troops under Arab officers, were barred from joining the imperial forces by both Mutota and Matope. All this was seen as a very real threat to the powerful commercial position the Arabs had in all the hitherto independent states as well as the equally powerful political influence they enjoyed at the capitals of these states, not to mention their independent status on the coasts.

Matope's campaigns for the unification of many states into one empire were not easy. For although the Arabs pledged and proclaim-

ed their undying loyalty to the new Emperor as this mission of empire building advanced, they secretly gave active support to the armies of resisting states. Some of the key states that formed the Empire were Mbire, Guniuswa in the southern region; Chidima, Utonga, Barwe, Manyika, Madonda, Shiringoma formed the eastern and southeastern region. It took thirty years of unremitting efforts to complete the Empire of Monomotapa with its long eastern border bathed at last by the Indian Ocean. Every detail of his father's specifications having been carried out in full, a weary Emperor, worn out by the task, retired for the final sleep. The year was 1480.

* * *

What would happen now? The great imperial system had been completed. Black unity had been achieved among numerous language groups on one of the wildest scales in history—from Zambia down into South Africa. Cities of stone dotted the land—the Zimbabwe cities north and south were the deathless symbols of a people's greatness. The long wars of expansion seem to have stimulated economic development rather than hinder it. The government had gained a more direct control over the mines and mining industries—and this meant more control over the Arabs in the interior and on the coast, especially at Sofala, Kilimoni, Sena and Tete on the Zambezi. The agricultural system was actively promoted by the central government and, indeed, just as the vast building operations that produced the amazingly beautiful temples and huge structures such as the Great Zimbabwe were all government sponsored, so were all the other craft industries. Active government sponsorship, promotion or encouragement in all these fields did not necessarily mean government ownership or direct control.

The Emperor Matope also left the country with a great organized religion with a powerful and formally organized priesthood—something unusual in Africa outside of ancient Egypt and Ethiopia. The traditional African religion is essentially the same everywhere on the continent, but it is generally *unorganized* and, therefore, has seldom had an organized priesthood with a single recognized creed or body of prescribed beliefs. Yet just about every African society known believed in *one* Almighty God, no matter by what name he was called or how many lesser gods there might be. In

Monomotapa he was called Mwari—the Vakaranga version and contribution toward national unity.

But would there be unity now that the last of the two great personalities around whom unity revolved had silently stolen away in the shadows of the Great Zimbabwe and was gone forever? The question arises whenever a great leader passes; political psychology and mass psychology are crucially combined. Whether a great state survives after the death of the leader who made it great and held its disparate parts together by his charisma alone would depend upon the good fortune of having a successor of equal greatness, or the miracle of having developed a strong spirit of national community, of oneness, of a loyalty and a sense of belonging to the nation that transcend the tribe.

There were unifying factors which Matope left behind in his great empire. One was that same organized religion led by a highly advanced and literate priesthood. Religious temples at the Great Zimbabwe was certainly the national center of religion. The other important factor that should have made unity imperative was the greater prosperity that would flow from economic interdependence and close commercial relations between the constituent states and provinces. The great system of roads and highways, instead of being recaptured by the bush and forests after serving their initial military purpose, could have been converted into permanent national highways, crisscrossing the Empire, and thus serving as the indispensable communication links for administration, trade, travels by the people and, in short, unification. Other factors that should have been a solid foundation for Black unity were the similarity of their social institutions and the absolute sameness of their constitutional system.

Yet with Matope's death the Empire began to break up. Why? Notwithstanding all the forces mentioned above that should have made for unity and stability, the actual fact is that the traditional African political system was fundamentally and structurally *anti-empire*. The very circumstance of the endless process of segmentation, of forever splintering off to form little independent mini-states, developed a built-in disunity, reinforced by the attending growth of different languages. But self-government in each little state and in every village of the smallest state or chiefdom was a way of life, not a theory. Chiefs and Elders, as we have seen, were

leaders, advisors, and representatives of the people, and not their rulers. The same operating principle prevailed when a group of states united to form a kingdom and kingdoms united to form an empire—but with a disturbing difference: Centralization tended to erode local autonomy, tended to transfer chiefs from the control of their people to the control of the central government. In the case of conquered territories this change was abrupt and painful. And it was one of the principal reasons for later rebellions and the break-up of kingdoms and empires. Therefore, to say that Arabs and Europeans—let us say it again—were solely or even mainly responsible for the destruction of all great African states would be glossing over or attempting to ignore the principal internal factor: Disunity. What the whites did—Asians and Europeans—was to appraise this continent-wide disunity and "cash in" on it to the fullest extent possible. They did not have to divide and conquer even, for the Blacks were already divided, just as though they were waiting for the foreign conquerors to come. The foreigners' role was to intensify the disunity, to promote the suspicions and hatred that developed from it, and to check any tendency or movement toward unity among the Blacks.²

All the Arabs had to do in Monomotapa was to move swiftly during the period of mourning, confusion, and uncertainty following Matope's death. "Advisors" would surely be needed at the various provincial capitals more than ever—surely. From these key bases they actively furthered the destruction of an empire the very existence of which was a threat to their own power position within it. It was more than a threat, for had not Matope's sweep to the Indian Ocean reduced their control there, leaving them with only three trading stations? The Africans, already having the "every-province-for-itself" psychology, were simply urged to do more speedily what they were doing more slowly in their own way. Of Changa and Togwa it must be said to their honor that both remained loyal to Mutota and Matope throughout their lifetime—devoted servants, able generals and, finally, governors of two of the

2. This strategy of the whites is as clear and unmistakable today as it was centuries ago. It is an aspect of what I have referred to as the "Grand Caucasian Consensus." Yet Blacks appear to be heedless of it.

most important provinces—a period of devoted service extending over forty years. Now, however, there appeared to be no reason or even a possibility for transferring the same loyalty and love to Nyahuma, weak son and successor to the great King. The Arabs hastened to exploit this in Guniuswa where Changa was king with aspirations to become emperor. Togwa, King of Mbire, supported his long-time friend and colleague in the imperial venture. Both occupied the most favorable position for rallying support, for they held the southern region which was the first center of Karanga power, the center from which the expansion spread, and the location of the first Zimbabwe capital.

The Arab strategy must not be overlooked. Beyond the consideration of greater concessions from the winning side, they did not care which side won. They worked for and supported all sides, each against the other. None wanted a strong empire, but they wanted Changa to launch a war against the existing empire under the pretext of building a greater one than was possible under the new Emperor Nyahuma. The Arabs in the north, of course, would urge Nyahuma to crush the pretensions of the upstart Changa in the south. Arabs in both regions did more than just advise. They backed the respective rulers with money and materials and men—Black men, that is—the Arabs' own private armies of Black troops. Thus the Arabs—and later the Europeans—were always able to send into battle still more Blacks against Blacks. So now Changa, grown old and uncertain, was given an entirely new vision of greatness: He could not only capture the Empire and become as great an emperor as he was a general; but, in doing so, he could create a great brotherhood of Arabs and Africans—a brotherhood in which Arabs would be his faithful servants as citizens. To crown it all, and in testimony thereof, he was given the "unprecedented honor" of the Arab title of Amir, so that, as in the case of the immortal Caesar, his very name—Changamire—would mean "emperor" forever.

This flattery was too much for the old man to withstand. The new Changamire concluded his war against the central government with victory and the death of Nyahuma in battle in 1490. It was again the same old story of the wars that followed, the internal chaos during the rise and fall of one section of the empire after

another, the murder of Changamire or, in short, the fragmentation of the empire until what remained was the much reduced northern region and about 600 miles along the Indian Ocean to an inland depth of between two and three hundred miles. In this much reduced and weakened state, Monomotapa had to meet a still more ruthless enemy when the Portuguese arrived in 1505. They were aggressive. Their original aim to replace the Arabs first, to break and take over their commercial and political power in all of the now disunited kingdoms was ruthlessly pursued. This, it will be recalled, was implementing the original "Grand Design" that began in Kongo and Angola. Within fifty years they had penetrated all of these kingdoms, securing concessions of land, establishing trading posts and missions throughout the interior as well as along the Zambezi and the Indian Ocean coast and islands. The Arabs did not take all this without a fierce struggle, largely centered around attempting to incite the Blacks against the Portuguese, and thus creating further chaotic situations out of which they hoped somehow to emerge on top. The murder of a Portuguese priest at the court of the Monomotapan Emperor in 1561 was just what the Portuguese needed as a reason for open intervention with eventual Portuguese sovereignty over the entire region. It was an old trick, well known and practiced by the secret agents of great powers: To sacrifice one's own fellow citizens in a foreign land if by so doing the larger ends of the state might be served. The Portuguese version that the priest's death was "engineered by Muhammadans of Mozambique" may have or may not have been true. The Portuguese themselves may have done it. This death, then, meant that the honor of Portugal had been challenged. Instead of attacking the Arabs charged with the crime, however, they directed their pretended outrage at the tottering Black Empire with military intervention. In 1575 an ultimatum, disguised as a treaty, required the Emperor to expel all Arabs from the country, grant more land concessions for Portuguese gold mining operations, more trading posts and missions and, finally in 1629 the great objective was reached when the Emperor Mauura acknowledged the King of Portugal as his Overlord and became his vassal. Portuguese Caucasianization of the Blacks had begun early by having all chiefs, kings, and emperors replace their African names with Portuguese names. There was,

therefore, a long line of Emperors Sebastiaos, Philippes, Domingos, and Affonsos, here as in Kongo and Angola.³

The Portuguese land-grabs all over the region meant that they were not content with political overlordship and commercial supremacy but were physically taking over the absolute ownership of the lands of the people in all areas. When the Emperor Domingos summoned up enough courage to resist the onslaught in 1663, he was murdered. This was the year Queen Nzinga died and Portugal now felt unchallenged. Meanwhile, the Portuguese were riding so high and mighty that they had set up their own capitals in the interior at Masapa and in Manyika—centers of general administration and commerce. The Great Zimbabwe capital city of the Empire became a mere shadow of Portuguese power, useful only in carrying out their orders and, as was the case with the other towns and cities, began to disintegrate toward a state of ruins as the gold wealth of the nation was taken over and depopulation of the country by the slave trade spread. The highly organized African religion under a priesthood that had been so powerful that it had blocked the spread of Islam for over 200 years was now swept aside by the aggressively pushed Christian missions in almost every village.

In 1693 the seemingly all-powerful Portuguese were amazed by the rapid development of an unexpected phenomenon: the revival of Black unity in the southern provinces which were the original center of the Empire, now still under the leadership of a continuing line of Chanagamires. Other formerly separatist kingdoms united under the Changamire's leadership and opened a full-scale war against the Portuguese, aiming at driving them out of the land. The successful military tactics of Matope and his generals were remembered and followed: Careful, unrushed training and organization; the secret movement of troops in small groups in different directions, all assembling *en masse* at a stated time and place near the enemy strongholds—then the swift-moving and generally surprise attacks by different armies on different Portuguese centers at the same time. These operations took two years of desperate fight-

3. I have been referring to name changing throughout the book; yet I doubt whether Blacks in general fully realize the role this played in loss of the sense of self worth.

ing because, of course, the Portuguese forces were better armed. According to the oral records of the Blacks, the real reason for the series of victories over the Portuguese was that their Black troops only put up token resistance, often not even that—whole companies deserting to join their Black brothers.

With their Black shield thus removed, the Portuguese themselves were now exposed to danger. The number killed was frightening. They fled from the country to zones of comparative safety. The Changamire armies reconquered most of Monomotapa and a vigorous anti-Portuguese policy was adopted. This not only aimed at their total exclusion from the interior but also at ending their influence in what remained of the old Empire which did not come directly under the Changamire rule. Even trade relations with the whites and other contacts had to be carried on through Blacks and Mulattoes. The greatly reduced Monomotapa continued to be further destroyed by the endless internal strife among the Blacks, frustrated by the state of decline and helplessness, yet unwilling to join forces with the stronger southern kingdoms which were united under the Changamires. Decade after decade the same story of chaos, social disorganization and decline repeated itself. This time, however, neither Portuguese nor Arabs were able to reestablish their former power position throughout the region. For while all this was going on during 17th, 18th, and into the 19th centuries, three other threatening storm centers had been rising in South Africa.

Two of these, the British and the Dutch, had moved inland from the Cape, establishing "republics," and thereby completing the encirclement of the Blacks of Africa—a most significant development to which I have referred several times. The third threat, insofar as Monomotapa was concerned, was the rapid rise and expansion of the Zulu Empire under Shaka—an empire which developed from a small village state. We have seen that the great migrations over the continent developed from many different causes, took many different forms, and went in all directions. And we have seen that whole Black communities fled before incoming Black conquerors just as they did when whites invaded their land. The great Zulu Emperor-King became more ruthless in his onslaughts to unify the Blacks in an empire that would be greater and stronger than the undisciplined and, therefore, falling Monomotapa—an empire, unlike Monomotapa, that would not only serve as one vast and im-

pregnable fortress against the shrewdly scheming whites swarming up from the Cape, but a fortress from which they could be attacked and destroyed. Shaka and his people, like the other countries we have studied, had never seen a white face before the invasions. But he had learned about them more and more as they approached the borders of his country. To resist he had to unify the Blacks first. Kings and chiefs who could not see the danger in so many little independent states had better prepare to submit to the imperial rule of the Zulu, flee, or prepare to meet their maker. Countless thousands fled *en masse* before Shaka's mighty armies. Many tribal states moved as a swelling tide under powerful kings and chiefs, spreading death and destruction over the lands through which they marched—a wild and merciless rampage that expressed their anger over Shaka on all the people in their path.

The leading groups that struck the Changamire kingdoms first were the Ndebele, Swazi and the Shangana. They crossed the Limpopo in 1830 and swept on to the Zambezi, spreading terror as they moved northward. This left the few Portuguese centers that remained in the unconquered territory exposed to the new danger. That strip of territory was once again all that was left of the former Empire of Monomotapa. The overall scene was one of British-Dutch pressures on the Black empire in South Africa, the pressure of the migrating Blacks from that empire on other Blacks and their destruction of what remained of still another Black empire; while the British and the Dutch, in fierce competition with each other, moved steadily forward to take over the whole southern region. The Portuguese still held on to their strongly fortified posts, especially along the Zambezi, and were able to reach a partition agreement with the British in 1890. Thus, the Portuguese in gaining Mozambique still held a vast Black empire. The Blacks who had fled from Shaka's armies and had entered the land before the British, opened war against the whites in 1895. The rebellion was under the general leadership of the Matabele invaders who, therefore, could expect no support from the general population. They were defeated by the British. In 1902 the Blacks of another important kingdom in the old empire, Barwe, rose in rebellion. By then British power was so firmly established that the outcome was predictable. The last Black empire had become white-ruled Rhodesia and its southernmost

territory was now under the iron rule of the Dutch invaders of South Africa.

This marked the close of still another tragic era. The last emperor of the last Black-ruled empire on the African continent, Chioko Dambamupute, knew no more how to deal with the engulfing tides of conquest than most of the Black leaders who preceded him. Like Kot a Pe, the Bakuba king when the Belgians took over the Congo, none seemed to have had sufficient insights for the white situation, to have just enough sense of race to enable them to realize that the destiny of a whole people was at stake, and not just their personal well-being, or even the fortunes of a single state.

The Black queen of Angola remains the outstanding leader who read the white man straight from A to Z and mapped strategies for the confrontations. When she died she was still Queen of the Blacks, and her people were still free.

PART II

*. . . And the bridge was suspended between the two
eternities*

*Arched so high up there that the Watchman
Could from his tower see all that had gone before
And all that was to come.*

*And that is why the anxious, helpless peoples of this
crazy world*

*Continue to look up in despair and cry
O Watchman, tell us in this endless night
Just what the signs of promise are! . . .*

CHAPTER XII

A View from the Bridge

THE SUMMING UP

THIS HAS BEEN AN INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. I have swept across over 6,000 years with the story of the African people, touching here and there on prehistoric¹ beginnings, such as at Wo'se, and selectively spotlighting the "blackout" areas in that history in my broad sweep through the milleniums. My own field studies in just about every region on the continent and my interpretation even of the data of many of the scholars appearing in the Bibliography often led to quite different conclusions than theirs. Indeed, these modern Westerners either ignore or contradict some of the best evidence of the ancient writers on Africa.

The conflict of viewpoints on the history of the African people develops as issues in the work, and I suppose that at the present level of civilization, such a conflict should be expected between those who represent the masters of the globe and those who are in rebellion against them as the writers of the history of the people they oppress. Invariably there is a deeply felt need to present the dominated people as child-like creatures, inferior by an ordinance of nature and, therefore, helpless without the permanent rule and guiding hand of the master race.

1. "Prehistory" is another improper term we are stuck with. Its very origin reflects the self-glorification of those who had learned to write, the written records becoming sacred and the principal source of truth. There is actually no such thing as "prehistory." Man was leaving historical records millions of years before he began to write them.

Perhaps the highlights in the history of the Blacks—which is all this work claims to be—would be even more clearly understood if I had written backwards, beginning with the present. For one thing, less documentation would be required, for by focusing on predominantly Black South Africa, Rhodesia and the present-day Sudan, the whole world could see, almost at a glance, exactly what happened to Black Egypt many centuries ago. The script of the play, "Whites against Blacks," is the same. The eternal drive glorifying "White Blood" is the same, finding direct expression in all Caucasian controlled social, and economic systems: In South Africa the Dutch offsprings by Black women are classified "Coloureds" and ranked as a separate ethnic group below the Dutch in social and economic status, but far above the Africans. In Egypt the "Coloureds" gradually became the majority as more and more whites came in and more and more Blacks moved southward. The name "Egyptian" was taken over by the whites and their northern "Coloureds" as applying to themselves alone. The Blacks who were the original Egyptians were no longer called Egyptians—just as the Blacks in South Africa today are no longer called South Africans there, only the whites are South Africans.

Both in Egypt and South Africa the scheme was to make the Mulattoes a separate ethnic group, superior to the Blacks because of Caucasian blood, thus creating mutual hatreds that would make unity difficult if not impossible. By giving all Mulattoes privileges and opportunities denied to Blacks, the scheme worked not only in South Africa and Ancient Egypt, but it was successful throughout the world and still operates in the 1970s. The white man has every reason to proudly view his handiwork in managing people and pronounce it good. In the Sudan the white Arabs were so successful that their "Coloureds" there consider themselves Arabs, *not Africans*, and look down contemptuously on the Blacks in the Southern Sudan exactly the same as the Egyptian Coloureds regarded this same once all-Black region (Ethiopia) centuries ago. The picture in the Northern Sudan today, then, is exactly the same as the picture was in Northern Ethiopia (Egypt) after it became predominantly Afro-Asian and Afro-European; and the picture in the Southern Sudan today is the same all-Black picture Southern Ethiopia (the Sudan itself) presented over two thousand years ago. And just as their ancient forefathers battled then against the Egyptian Coloureds, the

Blacks in the Southern Sudan at the very hour these lines were being written were still arrayed in battle against the Arabs, now predominantly "Coloured"—and for the same ancient reasons.

Does anyone wonder why this all-important white-created color factor is skipped over by white historians? If they were scientific in their approach and objective in their methods, they would deal with the Mulatto role in Black history, even though it was a major source of White Power and the white man's most effective agent in helping to destroy Black civilizations everywhere they were found. White historians would really grow in stature if they themselves wrote the story—wrote it as it was. This will never happen, of course. For they would be recording how the increasing number of "Coloureds" after each white invasion made it easy to credit them with all the great advances the Blacks themselves had made. They, the white writers, would be telling how these half-Blacks came to be classified as "Caucasoids" and how helpful this was in obliterating Black Egypt from the pages of history. By this master stroke, through their own sexual creations, they were able to erase the Blacks as the first builders of a great civilization and deliberately rob them of that honor.

The long-drawn out process by which all this was accomplished has been detailed in this work. It had to be dealt with along with other factors and forces, because the inferior status of Black people throughout the world today tends to confirm the white man's doctrine that they are inferior in fact. His whole system, universally applied, was designed to make them inferior and keep them so. Who, then, in the 20th century, would believe that these same Blacks were of the race that had built great cities, developed writing, the arts and sciences when the whites of Europe were still roaming tribes of barbarian warriors? This being a well-known (though not publicized) fact of history, how then explain the descent of the Blacks from the heights reached by their forefathers to the depths in which they find themselves today? This was the central question in all of our research. Most of the important answers are given in preceding chapters.

Future research, especially field research, will reveal an even more amazing story. A study of the general history of mankind reveals no people who have suffered so much in every area of life and survived. One thinks immediately of the Jews and the systematic

oppression they encountered in every land. But they were not enslaved—not since the days when whites were generally enslaved everywhere and slavery had nothing to do with race. We have seen that after the murderous revolt of white slaves in the 13th century, white slavery ended, and thereafter the concentration was on Blacks alone. The Jews, being white, and tenaciously clinging to their own heritage, were able to find escape routes not open to Blacks anywhere: Business, finance and science. They were free to study, and study they did—surpassing almost all other peoples in the resulting intellectual supremacy. Learning became a second religion. They had seen that two of the certain ways to overcome their oppressors were the mastery of wealth and intellectual excellence. They, therefore, became moneylenders to emperors, kings and popes. Meanwhile the Blacks were still being hunted down and enslaved and, when freed, they were kept as close to the status of slaves as such efforts could achieve. Yet today we are beginning—just beginning—to learn about the heights from which they were driven. One of the highly important things this study revealed was how the very color of black came to mean "slave," and, therefore equated with bad luck, inferiority, and shame.

We have dared to go beyond the limits and the guidelines set for us by the czars of history and geography to discover that Ancient Ethiopia covered North Africa to the Mediterranean Sea, that Egypt was the northeastern division of that empire, and that even as late as 3100 B.C. when white Asians held Lower Egypt, Ethiopians still held most of their homeland in Upper Egypt. In short, almost all of Egypt was Black as late as 3100 B.C. I say "as late as 3100 B.C." to emphasize the fact again that all this is well known to white historians concerned with Africa. They know because when the earliest Greek and Roman writers studied in the land, Egypt was still Black Egypt, they knew what the history was and they left the records. Even when Herodotus arrived, Black civilization was known to be so ancient that its beginning was lost in a distant past beyond memory. But when he arrived he found a very mixed Egyptian population of whites, browns, yellows and blacks; the first three groups now drawing a line between themselves as Egyptians while giving to the Blacks the lowest class status along with their original name of Ethiopians (original as Greek term). There may have been some justice in this since when Herodotus was in

Egypt, the masses of non-integrating Blacks had themselves rejected both Egypt and the Egyptian names as the Asians and Afro-Asians became the majority, and they had concentrated below a new borderline as Ethiopians in an Ethiopian empire that no longer included Egypt.

The most important fact here, is that the Greeks were the first Europeans to know that the most advanced civilization of the ancient world was in Africa, the first Europeans to study and be directly influenced by it, and to proclaim it to the world boldly and without reservations. Indeed, it is from Greek history, including their myths and legends, that we get some of the best insights into the early history of the Blacks. They drew upon the Land of the Blacks for architectural designs, city planning, sculpture, science and even religion. These they reshaped and made Greek. The Greeks were the best traveling students in the world. In their relations with Africa, they exemplified, as no other people had, the eclectic process of civilization and progress—the readiness to borrow from other peoples the best in their culture, to be reshaped or made over to suit one's own ideals and needs. Having lost most of our own written records through both destruction, endless displacement, and the gradual loss of African scribes, the Black world owes the debt of everlasting thanks to those early Greek and Roman writers—but mostly Greek—who included much of our ancient history with their own and passed it down through the centuries. We salute them!

The early disruption of African civilization, as we have seen, was followed by a long series of absolute blockades to progress. These included the combined forces of nature: Ever expanding deserts, scarcity of water, hostile climate and the ravages of disease arising largely from conditions of famine. And yet while the primary causes of disaster had set in motion the dispersions of peoples from the earliest times, searching for survival sites, through it all kingdoms and empires were built, destroyed, and built again. These were the slow-moving voluntary migrations from which so many of the small and large societies developed with different languages and dialects.

The invaders raiding into the continent from Asia and Europe formed the second centuries-long battlefronts against which the Blacks had to fight for survival. These wars spanned several thousand years, and in an earlier chapter I "wondered out loud"—and

still wonder—how any people, weakened by perpetual hunger and disease, could possibly carry on wars of resistance to the white invaders for over 5,000 years. This they did—and this their descendants must know and remember with pride: That Black resistance to white domination covered over 5,000 years. When the enslavers pressed in upon them from the North, from the East, from the West, and from the South, they continued the fight; the resistance to slavery continued while the continent was being depopulated by it with the active participation of many Black chiefs and kings seeking wealth and the white man's promise of security from all of their Black foes.

The third battle lines for survival were, therefore, internal, and points up one of the main contributions they made towards their domination by other peoples. As time went on they became so pre-occupied with warring against each other that they seemed to regard the whites as friends by comparison. This seeming contradiction is baffling. For while there is nothing new about a people fighting among themselves, they generally stop if outsiders attack, forget their differences and join united ranks against the common foes. Caucasians will wage frightful wars against other Caucasians, but will quickly unite, as though by instinct, against non-whites, not only in wars but in international policies. They have developed a kind of built-in solidarity in their relations with non-Caucasian peoples. This fact, as much as anything else, help to explain their position as masters of the world.

On the other hand, and in glaring contrast, disunity and non-cooperation have been characteristic of Black societies. And this fact, more than anything else, helps in the understanding not only of why the Blacks eventually lost in their battles against the whites, but also why even today they are still unable to deal with the white world. This situation of antagonism, self-hatred and attending disunity in the race is a matter of such grave concern that I have returned to it again and again throughout these discussions.

The only reason for dealing with the role played by the Mulattoes in Black history, for example, was to show how baffling and complex the problem is. For they were used not only to help disguise the most significant achievements of Blacks, but they were also effectively used to further enhance and perpetuate the already existing conflicts and divisions among them. Now they had just

as much right to be classified as white as they did to be classified as Black. But they found it expedient to operate in both worlds, exploiting the Blacks while serving the interests of the whites. There could never be any clear-cut judgment or defense against internal subversion along any color line, because in almost every Black society it was possible to find some Mulattoes who were as loyal to the race as anyone could be, and some blackest of the Blacks who might be paid agents of the Arabs or Europeans. The state of Black Africa, then, was a state of perpetual fears—fears of being hunted down and attacked from without, fears of betrayals by unknown followers from within, fears of attacks by other migrating Blacks who were themselves fleeing from danger, fears of hunger, ever-mounting disease and of the alarming number of deaths that could never become common no matter how often they occurred. Fears of all kinds. Another source of mutual suspicions and distrust. Centuries of this and the amazing outcome: The Blacks became their own worst enemies and, therefore, increasingly a helpless people.

The migrations were the moving phenomena in the tragedy. For while we have seen that many of them ended with the rebirth of new states from one end of the continent to the other—states that stood until Arabs and Europeans delivered the final death-blows, millions of other Blacks were unable to achieve this temporary glory. These were the Africans whose daily task was sheer survival—nothing less, nothing more. Every one of their communities had four to six months of each year which everyone knew as "Starving Times"—the period when children ate dirt and the bark from trees; when it was a great occasion if food enough could be found for two or three meals a week; when to find a water hole or a little stream that had not completely dried up was even more joyful than finding something to eat, and a time when some mothers would steal away into the bush with their little skeleton-like children with swollen bellies to die quietly in the shade—this was "Starving Times." During this awful period of hell on earth even the better-off cattle-raising groups outside of the tsetse fly regions suffered great losses in herds as they wandered far and wide in the frantic search for un parched grassland and water.

In none of this are we dealing with the merely unusual misfortunes which are occasionally visited upon almost every people. No. We are dealing here with the unusual, something quite different in the general experience of mankind, for we are reviewing here a permanent situation which, in combination with the forces outlined in foregoing pages, destroyed the civilization of an entire race, checked progress, and forced countless thousands into barbarism. These were the people who sought freedom and security in the forests, swamps and caves. Some, unable to advance under these conditions, nevertheless battled against sinking to the level of savages; some rebuilt their states even in the vast forests and still others, famine-crazed, became savages or semi-barbarisms. Many of the groups that descended to this lowest state of existence were isolated in areas where "Starving Times" was not a period of months but of years.

The worst outcome from the forced migrations all over Africa in the long search for places of refuge and freedom were the endless splintering off of societies into countless little isolated states. Overall, it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise. They had to split up. Unity, in terms of keeping a very large group together, was impossible. Seldom could 10,000 people move *en masse*, not to mention 100,000—and 100,000 would be a small number if it was a great state that was being disorganized and destroyed. If they were being attacked by invaders, not only expediency but life itself dictated that they split up into small groups, each under an elected leader. In this way both the chances of escape from the enemy and of finding food and water somewhere were better than would be the case if they moved in one vast body. Some of these separated groups did indeed meet again by chance before they had become total strangers to each other. These often settled in the same general region and near enough to each other to maintain the same language. Others met again generations after the original segmentations, met as strangers speaking in different tongues and with different patterns of culture—"strangers," yet all descendants from the same society. Worse still, the Blacks have been so busy being "different" through all these years that they have been unable to see that underlying all of their cultural varieties is the compelling evidence that they are all members of the same race and have the same common origin.

And this is the best and most remarkable outcome of the migrations with their fragmentations, disunities and interminable turmoil and crises—that they held on, tenaciously held on, to the fundamentals of the same constitutional principles, the same democratic and political systems and the same social institutions—maintained from one end of Africa to the other, just as though they were still members of one and the same vast African society. This fact was immediately reflected in the institutions and political structure of every new state that emerged during all those centuries of migrations. Just as the Council told Ethiopian kings what they could and could not do, the same remained true throughout the continent where Black rule prevailed according to tradition. This was why, 3,000 years later and 3,000 miles farther South, a Shaka could complain bitterly because the Zulu Council of "yes men" failed to check him in his excesses. Finding himself an absolute autocrat, he was surprised to find that he had been allowed to get away with it.

A VIEW FROM THE BRIDGE

What, then, is "the view from the bridge?" The outlook is grim. For the Black people of the world there is no bright tomorrow. The Blacks may continue to live in their dream world of singing, dancing, marching, praying and hoping, because of the deluding signs of what looks like victories—still trusting in the ultimate justice of the white man; but a thousand years hence their descendants will be substantially where the race was a thousand years before. For the white people, still masters of the world, do not have to yield. They have never changed their real attitude toward Black people during all the passing centuries, and there is absolutely nothing upon which to base the belief that they will change in the centuries to come. Concessions on some demands, yes. Expediency dictates this. Noting that the Black masses accept as leaders any and all "Negroes" who hold important positions, the whites, who control these positions directly or indirectly, actually determine who the leaders of Blacks shall be as independent Black organizations emerge. The dangling attractions of government and foundation grants are there to quiet the outspoken but money-hungry "leaders." Indeed, some of these leaders were quick in discovering

that the most certain route to a handsome grant or "loan" is pretended outrage and shouting "militancy." The whites know this all too well. They are quite willing to pour millions of dollars into all kinds of Black community projects precisely because they know that these phony leaders will do nothing that will really improve the conditions under which the Black masses live.

Blacks are still hopelessly naive if they do not yet understand that the whites never did—and do not now intend to include Blacks in the doctrine of human equality, equal justice, or anything else that means real equality. The white determination to keep Blacks in an inferior position is so deep that they will battle against the enactment of civil rights laws even when they know there will be no real enforcement. The opposition is to the very idea of equality.

Those Negroes who are so frantically fighting to escape from the African race by way of "integration" and amalgamation will continue to meet everlasting and universal opposition from the whites. The Negro drive to be with whites in every situation is equalled by the white determination to prevent it. Yet the whites must truly feel a deep sense of pride in seeing this Negro leadership so clearly validating their own belief in white superiority. Their pretended "Quality Education" objective actually collapses under the wheels of buses for "racial balance." They are proclaiming to all the world that, regardless of general desegregation, in any all-Black or predominantly Black population, the Blacks themselves are utterly incapable of achieving or maintaining high standards of excellence in education or, indeed, anything else. Here we have, *within the race*, the intolerable situation of an anti-Black group proclaiming the race's inherent inferiority more effectively than the whites ever could—precisely because this group is regarded as "Black." Furthermore—and even of greater importance—the amalgamationist Negroes generally hold most of the administrative and key teaching posts in the educational system. Through sheer indifference, therefore, they can block the development of the quality education in Black schools while, at the same time, sending their own children to white private schools. Their remaining interest in the Black schools is the money derived from their supervisory and teaching positions.

Meanwhile, Black students in the so-called integrated schools

and colleges throughout the United States continue to tell the world that they are as segregated *within* as they were *without*. Far from being accepted, daily insults of various kinds occur inside the classrooms, in the halls, and on the outside. When fights break out, as they inevitably do, and the police are called in, they generally arrest the Black students—not the white students, no matter who started the trouble. A press report, September 15, 1972, simply read: "During the recess hour a black male student was called an offensive name by two white boys and pushed against the wall. A general fight broke out between black and white students. Police were called. Thirteen black students were arrested and jailed."

Now, of course, all this is public information, and is news to no one. But some of the salient facts that seem to stand out clearly are as follows:

1. White America is definitely and unalterably opposed to the integration and amalgamation of the two races.

2. Black America, the masses, are equally opposed to the integration and amalgamation of the races.

3. The drive for more and more amalgamation is, and always has been spearheaded by those "coloureds" who maintain a separatist society within the Black race, and who are not, and never have been, identified with the Black masses.

4. Since everybody knows that there are millions of light-skinned members of the race—some as white as any Caucasian—who are as African in spirit and are as devoted to the race as anyone else, the crucial question is how long will this other white oriented group be allowed to block the real progress of the race?

5. Those who seek and hope for admittance into white society should not be criticized or condemned. As previously stated, it is an individual matter of choice, and it is both natural and right if their "blood-call" is to the white race rather than to the Black. But they cannot be allowed to use their imposed leadership positions to brow-beat all Black Americans into the line of march into white society *per se*—and thus towards the ultimate extinction of Blacks as such in this country. It is along this line against their benign genocide that the real battle for survival as a distinct people must be fought.

6. The drive for "integration" is most damnable on one score alone: It is a deliberate and stepped-up attack on the most significant aspects of the Black Revolution of the Sixties. That Revolt was the reversal in the psychology of the race, a quest for its lost manhood by first emancipating the mind from the bondage of over-caucasianization, and to establish forever the real basis for equality with the rest of mankind from the rediscovered pages of a history that was supposed to be "lost" because it reveals a long line of giants unsurpassed by any people on earth.

The Negro integrationists are hostile to the Black Revolution, and aim to defeat its main aims by forcing the Black children and youth of the nation more directly under "white education." Once again, as in slavery, they will be cut off not only from the history of their race, but they will also be cut off from a knowledge of all the other fields in which Blacks have excelled, and from which comes the inspiration to "go forth and do likewise." The great mental revolution among the Blacks that eventuates in more and more self-respect, a new sense of manhood and self worth—all this alarms the Negro integrationists, and they are resolved to defeat it by keeping the Blacks firmly under the mind control of white institutions.

7. They are absolutely right about the general lack of "quality education" in Black schools—the very schools in which they are the principal supervisors and teachers. But their minds and interests are elsewhere. "Ghetto" children are unteachable, they assure themselves. And they and their equally misguided principals and teachers of all kinds will fight to the death a Clark or any other plan that is expressly designed to improve the teaching and learning porcesses in Black schools. They fear the very idea of "community control" because it presents the possibility that irate parents might demand the removal of the merely job-holding and indifferent principals and teachers.

8. The millions of Africans of mixed blood who have always been steadfast and devoted to the race know that when the white man gives them a preferential status above the "unmixed," but always below himself, he does so to maintain the myth of superior "white blood." Their redemption from the sin of African blood is proportionate to the amount of "white blood" in their veins. Indeed,

if one is light enough, or near white, he may even be appointed Secretary of a Department of the U.S. Government, and a member of the President's Cabinet—and still not equal.

Furthermore, white America has found that their purposes were served best by classifying as "Negro" all persons with any amount of African blood, no matter how small. This obvious injustice has never been openly challenged even by those directly affected and bitterly resent being so classified.

But the United States refused to follow either the South African system of making their Afro-Dutch offsprings a separate ethnic group by law and calling them "Coloureds," or the ancient practice of Egypt and the Arab world of classifying mixed breeds as "white." This fact has had a tremendous impact on integrationist Negroes in the United States, leading many to identify with the Arab world, rather than Africa; and even to adopt Arabic names, rather than African names. In fact, because of their powerful hold on Africa through the religion of Islam, and the vast Coloured population in many Arab states, many white Arabs will publicly state (for African ears) that they are a non-white people.

However, even if the United States did attempt to reclassify this group as either white or Coloured, the millions who are bound to the African race by unbreakable ties of love would fight such a move to its death. These have no desire to be either white or "Coloured." For like the late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, who could have passed for "white" anywhere in the world, they would say, "call me Black!"—knowing full well that "black" refers not to anyone's color (for which none is responsible), but "black" defines one's attitude towards the homeland of his ancestors which from times immemorial was called "*The Land of the Blacks.*"

So something different developed in Black America for, whereas, in most other parts of the world the mulattoes form an elite caste, this is true only of certain groups in the United States—such as the Wezots of Maryland and Virginia (also known by other names) and their spill-over in Washington, D.C. In general, the divided loyalties split them as anti-African and pro-African—which is the way it always has been.

The "view from the bridge" thus far has been a re-focus on the futility of our continuing and child-like faith in the white man's justice, the belief that our protests, marching demonstrations, sing-

ing and praying will change his six thousand years of hostility to us; and that the Negroes who frantically battle for admission to white suburbia, and to its private clubs, golf courses, swimming pools, etc., will never be welcomed even though they may be "near-white" in color. The final focal point in this connection is that the masses, from the blackest of the Blacks to the lightest of the Lights, do not care at all about socially mixing with the whites.

They, the whites, on their part, have no reason or inclination to do more than make token concessions from time to time, thus quieting noisy "leaders," but never changing the inferior situation of the masses. They still own and control the wealth of Africa, directly and indirectly, and from it, along with that from other areas of the world, they have developed technologies and a world commerce—all fully protected by governments, also under their control, that assure them of continued white supremacy. This phenomenal success, this unquestionable "position of strength," derived from their conquests of other peoples and their wealth, has led them to believe that they are, as a matter of fact, the superior people and, therefore, the rightful rulers of this planet. Why, then, should they be expected to yield? "Human Rights?" "Equal Justice?" What are these but narcotic slogans for the masses—even the white masses—which are quickly conceded as "ideals" and "principles" everywhere?

The masses of poor whites also live on these slogans and ideals of equal justice. They are a pitiful people, often half-starved themselves, yet living and having their being in the happy thought that they are members of the white conquering race, and that the once enslaved Blacks among them are living evidence of their own superiority. They enjoy the glory reflected from the domination and power achieved by the ruling minority of their race, too ignorant to realize that they are used as the tools of hate to support the wealth and power concentrated in relatively few hands. When these poor whites secure the kind of jobs that move them up in that gloryland called "Middle Class," they get the most concrete evidence of their innate superiority: They find that the economic system is so structured that, (1) to secure better jobs and advancement, the number one qualification is to be white; (2) that even where only a token number of non-whites are employed, they may

be required to have college degrees (and sometimes the Master's) while the higher salaried whites, including the supervisors, may not have a high school education. These are not merely "may" and "may not" theories. In the United States the official statistics show that, nation-wide, Black college graduates not only earn \$1,040 a year less than white high school graduates, but they earn less than a white 10th grader. The white college graduate averages \$3,095 more than the black college graduate; (3) Blacks must pay more to live than whites. The lower wages they receive and the higher prices they must pay are built-in guarantees that they will always occupy an inferior place in the society. Merchants now generally have two prices for the same goods, one "black" and one "white." With the uneducated Blacks they are having a field day. They are equally successful in robbing the educated Black "Middle Class" because of its abiding faith and status-striving complex. These are the "Negroes" who readily pay \$225 a month for a house just vacated by whites who rented it for only \$125, and "Negroes" who buy \$25,000 homes listed to whites for from \$5,000 to \$10,000 less—provided, of course, that "white folks previously lived there." And the "Inner City" food markets charge higher prices for cheaper brands of canned goods and equally high prices for leftovers from their first class stores in surrounding white suburbia; and (4) the insurance companies face this economic war on the Blacks boldly and actuarially. They simply charge Blacks more for less benefits. Blacks must pay much higher premiums than whites for life insurance, for example, because it has been determined that their life expectancy is 10 years less than that of the whites. For the insurance industry it is strictly a matter of business. They know that the total economic system is so structured against the Blacks that it is impossible for them to maintain proper health standards. Being Black, they must die first—by 10 years.

All this gives comfort and assurance to the poor and once-poor "silent majority." They feel that they have every reason to be silent, for does not this silent and secret war against the Blacks, carried on every hour of their existence and deeply structured in the very fabric of national life, public and private—does this not reassure them every day that they are, indeed members of the supreme ruling race?

The "View from the Bridge" had to focus first on the United States because so much points to this land as the place where the first major racial explosion is likely to occur. One would think that South Africa and Rhodesia feel more secure with huge American investments and military backing than America itself is.

A VIEW OF THE MOTHERLAND

This brings us to the main reason for the focus on America: It quickly assumed the role of the whole white West as the various powers were forced from their imperial rule in Asia and Africa—forced, that is to say, from direct political rule, or the political functions of colonialism. The world at large, in the greatest misconception of modern times, took this to mean African independence at last, African freedom, and the end of European colonialism. The plain truth is that the African states today are not even half free and independent, for colonialism was from the beginning exactly what it is today—an economic system for the control and exploitation of the wealth of other peoples.

It was and it is a private enterprise system. Colonial government was initially company government. When the political task got too big because of the increasing rivalries between the great powers, the mother countries would appoint colonial governors and other administrators. In other words, government by the home country came in as a protecting umbrella for the main objective: economic exploitation. That economic control still prevails all over Africa. It is not "neo-colonialism," but the old colonialism itself, still carrying on under the beautiful and high flying flags of "independent" African nations. The various mineral resources are so vast and involve so many billions of dollars that individual Africans, called upon to decide whom they will serve—their people or the masters of the country's wealth—often decide to serve the latter. The fact that Africa is still in economic bondage to her former political masters brings us back to our point of departure.

As the more political colonialism disappeared, the United States rushed in to fill the breach, to take up the banner as the "Leader of the Free World" (the Atlantic or Western powers), and hold the line of White Supremacy throughout the world. The American military bases scattered all over the world have meaning far be-

yond any supposed Communist threat. Rich European nations no longer need to maintain their usual armies for defense, for their Great White Brother, Uncle Sam, will gladly draft men to keep American forces there. American armed might is everywhere, ready to rush in to play the self-assigned role. This new world mission of the United States replaces, as far as it can, the more direct rule of the Western powers over the non-white peoples. The threat to Black Africa and Black people everywhere should be obvious.

From the very beginning, for example, the American secret policy was to give little or no assistance to Africa. Outright grants, such as the billions poured into Europe, were never expected by the Black nations. The Africans had sense enough to know that such free gifts were for whites only. But they did expect to secure loans on reasonable terms of repayment. The American attitude on loans to African states turned out to be about the same as it would have been if they had been begging for free grants. There was a very definite African policy, however. The policy was not to announce the policy. There was a public announcement of what was intended as a "policy" early in the 1960s. It said to Africa in effect that the United States would continue its friendly interest and, as always, said little or nothing in the matter of loans. Other friendly advice included the well-known information that they could apply to the World Bank. The big American air and military base in Ethiopia made it a favored African state like Libya. American investments in two other African states enabled them to secure loans.

Black nations that might overcome the foreign economic stranglehold within their countries by increased production and exports for foreign exchange find their export trade blocked by the tariff walls of the same United States and the same European powers whose industrial machines would be crippled without the wealth, mineral resources and basic strategic materials they still control and ship out of Africa. In a word, the Blacks neither own nor control the wealth of their own land. Supposedly free again, they are unable to rebuild even as well as their migrating forefathers did before the Arab and European conquests. As shown in previous chapters, freed of the white man's control—a control from which most of them were fleeing—they were overriding all obstacles and successfully building and rebuilding new states until they were

finally overtaken in the 19th and as late as the beginning of the 20th century. The overall View from the Bridge, then, is simply the view of where and how the Black people of the world stand *today* after a summary review of at least 6,000 years of their history. And, whether the focus is on Africa, the Caribbeans, the Americas or elsewhere, they are now seen standing at the Crossroads of history—and confused.

"... *Out of the Stormy past*
'Till We Now stand at last. . ." WHERE?

CHAPTER XIII

The Black World at the Crossroads

ONE OF THE MOST TROUBLESOME FACTS IN THE STUDY of history over very long periods of time, such as several centuries, is that a truth may slowly emerge, period after period, until it clearly forms itself into a truth impregnable—a fact nowhere explicitly stated as such in the mass of data covered. As one continues to move on down through the centuries, countless events and situations may continue to make supporting additions to what has already been established as an unassailable fact. Yet that truth may be so repugnant, so utterly void of any rational or intelligent reason for its existence, that hardly any historian would wish to state it in his work.

Yet I did just that when I wrote that "the whites are the implacable foe, the traditional and everlasting enemy of the Blacks." The compelling reason for publicly putting this declaration in its historical context is made clear: The necessary re-education of Blacks and a possible solution of racial crises can begin, strangely enough, only when Blacks fully realize this central fact in their lives: *The White man is their Bitter Enemy*. For this is not the ranting of wild-eyed militancy, but the calm and unmistakable verdict of several thousand years of documented history. Even the sample case-study of ten Black states in this work shows that each and every one of those states was destroyed by whites.

Facing this reality does not call for increasing hatred or screaming and utterly futile denunciations. Far from it. For all these shouting emotional outbursts by Blacks are in themselves indications of weakness, because they becloud the mind and prevent the calm and clear thinking that is absolutely required for planning if the race is to be saved from final destruction. "Destruction" is not too strong a term here. Only fools will be unable to see that the race is again being hemmed in, surrounded by its enemies, and cannot survive forever under what might be called a state of gradual seige. Those "Negroes" who are still pleading with the whites for brotherhood through "integration" are so deaf and blind that they are unable to get the white enemy's reply to these frantic pleas for acceptance through integration.

The reply of whites was so loud and clear that it was heard around the world: When segregation in schools and residencies was outlawed throughout the United States, whites fled from the cities to the suburbs just as though a plague had struck, or some deadly disease was spreading. The Blacks were left alone in the cities, now called ghettos or the "inner city." This was rejection—total, complete. The Black youth of America got this message from the whites first, and they got it quickly. They formed new battle lines. Several millions of "Middle Class" Negroes and their leaders have not received the message yet, and probably never will. For them the white man is the ship and all else is the sea. They themselves do not feel competent to develop the highest standards of life in the all-black communities created by the very whites they so much worship. For them, there can be no "quality education" unless, by hook or crook, some white faces—any kind of white faces—are in the classrooms. Their main drive is to force the fleeing whites to accept them or, "Please, O you superior people, allow us to bus some of our children to your schools!" As they achieve these hollow victories on the integration front, they add a new cry: "Give us *racial balance!*"

These *Negroes* have neither the ethnic pride nor the self-respect that is so characteristic of the American Indians, Japanese and Chinese; and they seem utterly insensitive to being openly rejected by the whites, and battle on with the fantastic idea that they can force the whites to accept them socially.

One major reason why young Black America understood the white position so quickly was that by some happy circumstance in history they were more closely atuned to the great common people and, therefore, shared their common aspirations and common sense. No one has to tell them that there can be no bigger farce than the "integration" of hated and oppressed Blacks with the very white enemies who oppress them. Both the farce of integration and the "everlasting" white enemy are regularly highlighted in the world's press: Race riots in integrated U.S. armies in Europe and even at war in Indo-China; race riots in camps in U.S.A.; race riots on battle ships of integrated U.S. Navy and, in short, open combat between Blacks and Whites when they are forced together as equals. There is peace and harmony, of course, when the Blacks humbly "stay in their place"—their subordinate place.

Using the courts to force whites to accept Blacks as equals is quite futile even when and if all the thousands of court battles are won. White America is overwhelmingly against "integration." And white Americans are no different than other whites throughout the world. The only instance in their history when integration was welcomed were when the outcome would put them in a more dominating position, or one of personal security, money and a prestige they could never otherwise achieve. Hence, because of the high premium many Negroes give to a white skin, the most ordinary whites will eagerly marry any Black star or any other Blacks—if they have money. But in no period in history—and this point is important—have the masses of Blacks sought integration and general amalgamation with the whites. During all of their travails their pride in race was steadfast. The so-called "self-hatred" actually reflects a sense of futility and despair over lack of leadership and unity for action. They, the Black masses, rejected general integration as a movement to obliterate the Black race as such. The Black masses still reject it. I have pointed out blind alleys into which we are being led by leaders whose aims and objectives are quite personal and not those of the Black masses.¹ These Black masses demand absolute equality

1. No one should presume to say what the attitude of any large group of people is without learning what it is directly from the people concerned. Our "study of viewpoints" began in 1955. The survey started at Tuskegee with 52 school supervisors, principals,

on all fronts—precisely the same rights, privileges and responsibilities as all other citizens, and without any exceptions whatsoever. This obviously includes the right of every individual to attend the school or college of his choice, rent or buy a home wherever he pleases, marry whom he pleases—white or Black, and to freely use all places of public accommodation—all of which is a far, far cry from the doctrine that all of this must necessarily include a white presence to be valid, or a mass movement by the race toward amalgamation. The presence of whites in any given situation should be incidental, if considered at all. What the "Negroes" referred to above seem incapable of grasping is the difference between a "good school" and a "white school," a "good community" in which to live and a "white community." To them they are necessarily the same—continuing evidence of the Caucasian success in capturing the minds of Blacks.

THE MOTHERLAND AT THE CROSSROADS

The problem is essentially the same in our African homeland. There, too, "white" is still the standard of excellence, of what is right, wise and best. I personally know a number of African presidents and ministers who will not dare to make important decisions without the guidance of white advisors, men who often know far less about the questions at hand than the presidents and their ministers. But they all feel the need for a *white seal* of approval.

The Blacks, therefore, still have a long way to go in order to achieve absolute equality as free men among free men. They have a long way to go in the United States and the numerous other areas in which they live all over the world.

In Africa, at this writing, Tanzania leads in the first hard-headed, masses-oriented, socio-economic program that is expressly designed to raise the level of life of the whole people, beginning with those lowest down. It is a truly African program, drawing heavily on African cultural traditions. It was from its very inception too much

teachers and graduate students from 12 states. They were to conduct polls from time to time in their respective states over a period of years. No formalities. No rush. Just two simple questions: "Do you want integration? (2) Why? (for either "yes" or "no.")

for those of the "Elite" who think of independence as a mere transfer of power from a white ruling class to a Black ruling upper class, leaving the masses no better off than they had been under colonialism. These are the kind of smug and cocksure leaders who are preparing the ground not for military coups, but mass uprisings such as Africa has not yet witnessed.

The first line of action should center around the study and development of nationwide, people-involved, self-help cooperative programs—village by village, town by town and block by block. Each community would do its own development planning, the government's principal role being to provide advisors, training, technical assistance and loans when and where these are needed. For people with little or no money, barter and exchange are the first steps toward economic salvation, the bases for capital formation. Increased food production should be seen as for both wealth and health. The main emphasis would be inter-community relations between the various language groups in all development programs. This means agreement plans for each area to specialize in producing goods needed but not produced in the other regions. This is the direct route to national unity through cooperation in order to reach the goals desired in common by all language groups in each African state. This calls for thinking, planning and hard work. Now it is just here *within the race* where *integration* is not only needed, but it is mandatory. We shall remain a weak people until we begin the drive for integration of Blacks first of all, instead of battling to integrate with other peoples.

The second great task of government leadership calls for furthering the home front economic development by aggressively working for African economic unity on a scale never before attempted. Interstate trade and other economic programs designed to deal with Asia and Europe must begin with unity of action in Africa itself, region by region, and then inter-regional or continental efforts, if Black Africa is ever to free itself from the present economic morass. Nor will we be able to cover our failures by endlessly sweating and fuming over South Africa and Rhodesia. Black Africa can never deal effectively with white-ruled areas until it deals with Black Africa itself first. The foundation for everything we do or wish to do is economic. A word that simply means wealth enough to be really independent and having the means to do what must be done.

If we have not noticed that every one of the great Black nations studied rose as the result of a variety of wealth-producing activities which enabled them to achieve set goals—if we missed this fact, then we missed the most important lesson they left us in this book. Another significant fact was the widespread trade between the early African states. Somehow they overrode the “communications barriers” about which we now hear so much. The crying first need throughout the African world, however, is dedicated leaders, not just office-holding bureaucrats—men and women leaders who will be more and more in the field among the people, and less and less preoccupied in offices with paperwork. These will be people on a mission to improve the lives of the people, rather than enriching themselves. Meanwhile, a frustrated people send up a silent prayer, often heavy with tears. ‘Please, O God! Send us a few *real* leaders—just a few, Lord!’

WANTED: LEADERS AND AFRICAN IDEOLOGIES

The Black people of the world have, therefore, come at last to destiny's crossroads. They must make some fundamental decisions as a *single people*. The one hopeful sign is that they are slowly and painfully coming to their hitherto beclouded senses, coming to realize that they are one people with a common destiny and that, no matter how scattered over the world, the treatment suffered by one Black group is suffered by all. But there is a terrible crisis of leadership at the crossroads. There is no united leadership group or any real effort to create one. The great difficulty is that Black leaders, again, unlike the Jews, do not know what their own heritage is. They are almost wholly ignorant of their own cultural source from which independent, original thinking springs and progress is inspired. The “Negro” leaders who spearhead and carry on the campaigns for integration (amalgamation being the aim) not only do not know the great heritage of the Blacks, they do not want to know it. They wish to draw on the Caucasian heritage and become identified with it. They are totally rejected by the whites, but no matter; they keep on trying, because the white “liberals” do encourage them to hope by mixing with them from time to time. Other leaders, equally ignorant of their heritage, simply do not know

which way to lead. They, too, feel compelled to adopt and follow Caucasian ideologies because they do not feel free, equal and competent enough to develop an ideology of thier own—an African oriented ideology.

Hence, many, including some Black youth leaders from whom so much was expected, are jumping out of white capitalistic democracy's frying pan straight into white Communism's fire. Neither system was designed for the Black world, yet each is only too anxious to use the Blacks as they have always been used: A numerical power base for white rule. Moreover, the capitalistic version of democracy and the Soviet version of Communism not only could not serve the interests and aspirations of the Blacks, but they do not serve the interest of the white masses—neither of them. Of course, there would be a much larger class and a more powerful class of Black commissars and Black "Central Committees" if Communism should spread over the black world and more Black Capitalists if Capitalism becomes the prevailing way of life. In each case we have not a theory or a speculation, but a plain operating fact that even a fool can see: Both capitalism and Communism have ruling classes that suppress and exploit the people. The masses of people, like so many masses of puppets, are fed and filled with the "ideals and principles" of both systems. For these they fight and die, screaming these ideals as though they were drugged. Voting creates an illusion of power that does not exist in fact. It works wonderfully well for the rulers, the real decision-makers, because the people in capitalistic democracies actually believe they are deciding and running things. One surprising difference between capitalistic and Communist countries is that the people in the latter countries know they are powerless.

When the United States assumed the leadership role of holding the line of white Western power throughout the world, Russia took over a similar role for the white East European states. The Hammer and Sickle flag is different than the Stars and Stripes, but each now represents the same objective: Communism seeks to bring the various peoples of the world under the white supremacy of white Communist states under Russian domination; our capitalistic democracy aims at doing the same thing—white rule under American domination. Hence the "Cold War"—which has nothing to do with Communism itself. The so-called "Cold War" is, in fact, a contest

between two of the strongest white powers for world domination. Because Communism is not the real issue (as capitalism is not the real issue on the Communist side), the United States will form alliances and give all-out aid and support to a Communist country just as quickly (some say more quickly) as to a non-Communist country—anything to weaken, not Communism, but Russia, the chief white challenge for world rule.

As between these two giants the choice of the Blacks can only be a choice between two groups of white masters, although the yoke and shackles of one are attractively painted red. Nor will the Blacks find their salvation in Mao's China or any "Third World" in which they will still be in a subordinate position. *To be equal they must first stand on their own feet.*

In this capitalism vs. Communism connection, the immediate trouble confronting the Blacks is that so many millions of them have been made so wholly dependent on the white race for so many generations that they have become mentally lazy. For these, dependence has become comfortable; it frees them from the initiative, responsibility and planning required of independent free men and women. "Leave it to the white folks" has become their unspoken creed. They have not yet come to realize that this attitude of dependence by so many is responsible for the whole race being characterized as "children," and men being called "boys." To be recognized as men, they seem not to know, they must aggressively assume the real role of men. And this is why so many Black leaders expect the solution to the so-called "race problem" to be handed to them on the silver platters of white ideologies. This excuses them from both the mental tasks of working out their own, and the labor required for actually carrying through a united action program, first nation-wide and then world-wide.

It is needless to say what elementary common sense dictates, which is that when the African people achieve enough unity to develop the ideological guidelines for their own advancement, they will draw what is best for them from any or all existing systems as a simple matter of course. For whatever an African organized way of life might be, they would not hesitate any more than Stalin and the Soviet leaders when they brought in capitalists from the United States, Germany and England—not to adopt Capitalism—but to learn those capitalistic skills, techniques and methods which would

be useful in building a great Soviet Union. The emerging Communist states drew heavily on Capitalism when it served their purpose—openly and without apology. Hence, they became equal with the greatest powers without changing their own ideology. These observations are addressed only to those who seem not to know that one may extract what he needs from capitalism and Communism without becoming Capitalist or Communist.

THE BLACK UNITY THREAT

None seems to have noticed or understood the signals from the white world—signals which tell how tremendously important the whites regard any movement toward unity among the Blacks. Nothing racial seems to upset them more. That is why they insist on being "in on" any Black organizational movement either as financially supporting members, or as "advisors," observers or reporters. To bar them from any exclusively all-Black conference is regarded as something a little less than treason or as some kind of Black conspiracy in the making. On the other hand, no Blacks are ever present at all-white conferences where the fate of Blacks everywhere is discussed and decided.

Unity among the Blacks has been prevented for so many centuries that the various mechanisms to keep Blacks disorganized have been perfected in the Western system of race control. The white man is keenly aware of the tremendous power of any well organized group. But an organization of Blacks on a scope that would represent the voice of Black America would be a threat and a challenge not only to continued white domination of Blacks in the United States, but also foreign policies and practices that affect the lives of African people elsewhere over the world.

But the apprehension of whites about the possibility of real Black unity appears to be quite as needless now as in the past. For we are still in the "meeting and talking" stage of our history, and appear not to be ready even to begin the attack on the obviously built-in obstacles. These have been pointed out over and over again in this study. They had to be emphasized—and could not possibly be overemphasized—because, in addition to the historic reasons for our own self-generated disunity, no other non-white people on earth are in the dangerous situation of having so many of their

leaders selected, appointed, sponsored or financed by the white ruling classes. In the case of Blacks in the United States—and the same is true of Blacks elsewhere—these Negro heads of important institutions and organizations represent the white man's "indirect rule" over the Black Community. It is the voice of these "leaders" that is accepted as the voice of the race. They do indeed have a great following, drawn almost entirely from the traditional "Negro elite" or "upper Middle Class"—lawyers, government officials, doctors, professors, school administrators, scientists, engineers, heads of integrationist organizations etc. They are essentially anti-Black, anti-African and, therefore, anti-Black studies. Hence their frantic drive for "integration" which, of course, will effectively check the "alarming" development of pride in race, a sense of cultural identity with one's own blood line, and a growing knowledge of being members of a race with a record of achievements unsurpassed by any other people, despite the conversion of so much that was Black to White. This the Negro leadership would destroy even at its inception by forcing the Black youth of America more directly under white education direction and control—a vengeful striking back at Black youth for starting revolt against their mental enslavement in the first place.

In a panel discussion with three other university presidents, the head of one major white university said, "Integration is a very misleading term. Our Black students are as separate from the white students as they are in the general society. And they know it. They come because of the vast number of special scholarships offered to them. This is a wise program from our point of view. It brings more of the future Black leaders into a more traditionally American environment. . . We are not disturbed by their demand for Black studies, for these, of course, will be gradually phased out as their emotions cool. . . ."

That same month (May, 1971), a Negro professor declared, "*Black* studies are ridiculous in any university. I am not Black, and I will not join in this new hypocrisy. I am a Negro; yet outside the United States I am considered white."

On a recent TV program the head of a "militant" "black" movement went even further. In response to a question, he said, "Look at me! I am neither black, Negro, nor African. I am a Moor. My roots are in Asia!" (He was born in Mississippi). "But," the moderator pressed, "you call your movement a Black movement?" "Ah!" the

great Moorish leader replied, "That's strategy," apparently satisfied that the Black masses did not hear him or, if they did, would not understand.

Quite relevant to all this, I have made several points above. One was that, notwithstanding the white man's well developed system of maintaining disunity within the African race, he is still disturbed by any signs of a movement towards unity among Blacks, and goes into action in many subtle ways to offset it. The important point is the most disheartening. This is the fact that the white man really has nothing to fear from any effective unity among Blacks for a long, long time because he himself installs and backs most of the key leaders of the race—two of which I have just quoted above, and the number is legion. We still have in the 1970s, therefore, exactly the same unique problem that confronted Africans in Egypt over six thousand years ago. And we challenge any student of history to point out any other people who are or have been saddled with a perpetually disunifying and progress-checking problem of this magnitude. For while the white man has mingled his blood with non-white peoples from times immemorial, in no other people was the outcome a hostile "race" within a race. No other non-white people with Caucasian blood, whether Indian, Japanese or Chinese, feel any compelling reason for integration (a code word for amalgamation) with the whites. Quite the contrary, they resist it as a policy or an acceptable general practice.

The only hope for the kind of racial unity that will really liberate the Blacks in America and command the respect of the world will be a new kind of mass organization on a scale with an action program never before attempted. This will require a new kind of leadership—a leadership with the single purpose of helping the masses up towards a better life. We are noted for our countless organizations, large and small. Each is an independent kingdom, struggling to become an empire under a Great Chief. This is inevitable in the circumstances. But as in the history of Africa, not one of these, standing alone, can meet the mounting crisis of the race. If they will not unite, the race need not continue in despair because of the unyielding pride of individual leaders. A people's mass organization movement can override all obstacles. But will this be done?

The subtitle of this book, *Great Issues of a Race From 4500 B.C. to 2000 A.D.*, has puzzled some readers. 2000 A.D.? That is the end of this century, and we are not there yet! This subtitle, however, not only reflects the author's conviction that the main obstacles which confronted us in the past and are with us today will still be with us in the year 2000 and after, but also that for the rest of this century it is very likely that the Blacks will still be meeting, listening to and applauding fiery, soul-stirring speeches, protesting and denouncing injustices or happily relying on politics as the ultimate solution of our problems. The frustrations, confusion of goals, and a sense of helplessness are likely to continue into the next century. What Black youth began as the foundation for a new and mighty advance may be—and, indeed is being, defeated.

But whether the task of *what must be done* is undertaken by this generation or left to the next, one thing is certain: *It can never be said again that the Black race does not know exactly what to do, or that not a single member of the race ever carefully studied and then presented a Comprehensive Plan as one way out.* For the final pages of this work offer such a PLAN. It is not *THE PLAN*, but *A PLAN*—a comprehensive basis for beginning and improving—but *beginning*.

CHAPTER XIV

Organizing a Race for Action

JUST AS IT IS IN THE CASE OF AFRICA AND BLACK PEOPLE everywhere, the central problem of over 30 million Blacks in the United States is unity: Nothing will ever be achieved by such a minority group in White America—nothing that leads to real adjustment for progress—until a powerful unity movement among Blacks develops throughout the United States. This must be done to achieve full recognition even as men and women, not to mention full citizenship. As a larger and larger measure of nation-wide unity is achieved, the next two steps should be in the direction of charting a practical line of advance and of action, once the courses of action are carefully and sensibly planned. The picture of several thousand Black organizations, each independent and vying for leadership, is substantially the same picture of fragmentation and disunity in Africa that led to the downfall of the whole race. We have also seen that even in earliest times very often all that was involved was that somebody wanted to be the "head," was not getting there fast enough and, therefore, organized his own little state. Most of them perished, picked off one by one. The same thing will happen to any Black organizations, standing alone, that disturb the white mind.

The obstacles to unity are so great that the outlook is both discouraging and frightening to all but the strong with the will to both survive and overcome. The very first major obstacle to be

overcome involves a mental revolution out of which Black America faces up to the stark reality that white America as a whole is its enemy, that Blacks will be recognized only in a subordinate role, that the scattering of Black office-holders, high and low, really means nothing to the race as a whole, that there are actually two sets of laws as administered—one for whites and one for Blacks, just as there are two sets of wages and prices; and finally, that the Blacks' loyalty and devotion to the whites, in spite of all they have done and still do against them, mystifies the whites themselves and confirms anew their belief that such humble-dog attitudes indicate inferiority independently of everything else.

Until Black Americans are quite clear in their own minds about their real situation in this country, all talk about unity and achieving equal justice will be just that—useless talk. But with a clear understanding of reality, the specific studies and planning for a broad program for securing racial unity and progress can begin.

No one would propose that 30 million Blacks be brought under a single umbrella of leadership. Nor is that necessary. But an organizing national conference should develop a program designed to form hundreds of organizations into one vast national body of millions, with each society carrying on its own functions as before except in matters concerning the whole race, or organize by families and individuals, community by community and state by state. Where the matter concerns the whole race, affiliated groups would speak in one voice through the overall organization of the race.¹ But since the overall Race Organization will be directly involved in promoting definite *Action* programs on all fronts, the members of all affiliated groups will also be members of the overall Race Organization.

The separatist movement of whites gave Negro integrationists another shock, showing them how utterly dependent they had been on white enterprise for just about everything, even in all-black neighborhoods before the whites left their own exclusive sections.

1. Examples might be nation-wide boycotts, U.S. support and supply of arms and bomber planes to Portugal and South Africa, domestic and international trade policies that affect Black World, and similar matters about which not a single existing Black organization could have any effect at all.

But the shock did not affect their dependent mentality. In an all-black community of 100,000 people there were only 3 black-owned grocery stores—and very small ones at that, compared with 75 white operated stores. Not a single black-owned hardware store (7 white) or laundry (15 white owned laundramats) etc. In a city of nearly a million Blacks there is not a single Black-owned department store or any other important enterprise. We have left it all to the whites, just as though they alone can create jobs and job opportunities.

The perpetual hat-in-hand cry of poverty must end. What we have too much of is the poverty of spirit. Nor will the lack-of-finance alibi stand, for in spite of our lower incomes, we waste millions in luxuries. What we lack is the chain-store vision and the enterprising spirit that organizes groups fully able to launch large-scale community-financed undertakings.

The white withdrawal created city-wide Black communities. Most of the first class services went to the suburbs. The Blacks must now fill the gaps on all fronts, must prove their worth. The time for big talking is over. The time for big action is here. That is why a nation-wide movement for unity in one vast organization of millions is the road to constructive action through the various black Communities of the country.

WANTED: ALL PRISONERS TO ENLIST!

Organizing the race for action must include a carefully developed plan for tapping and drawing on some unused and rejected sources of strength. These are our prisoners and former prisoners. For among the many problems which the Blacks themselves must solve is crime, and primarily because almost all crimes committed by Blacks *are against Blacks, not whites*. There must be some program of action in sheer self-defense. Both crime and the fears for safety it breeds will begin to disappear in the Black community only when some such programs for unity, for opportunities, and public education as outlined in this work gets underway.

These offenders do not know that they are enlisted in the white man's army to slowly destroy the race. The War takes many unsuspecting forms, including the big and increasingly widespread

use of narcotics among Blacks; and an armed surrounding suburbia, trained by "Sportsmen" gun and target "clubs"; nation-wide "task forces," specially trained for inner city operations—the list goes on and on.

The community must be made safe for people to live and work there happily and without fears for themselves or their children. Therefore, the Blacks themselves must have a program. Here is where "community control," about which we hear so much, should begin. The first anti-crime steps might be widespread information (which is education) about the true meaning of Blacks' crimes almost exclusively against Blacks, and, secondly, the community development plans that are designed to create more opportunities for all. There are other possible programs that could radically reduce crime, programs short of the final step. For, if all else fails, the community—each community—should open an all-out war along lines determined by the community. No such final course will be necessary, however, if the Black community becomes a truly functioning community in fact. For then there would be so much work to be done in an overall race movement that the so-called criminal, in jail or out, would have a society not only to return to, but one that welcomes him warmly and needs him (or her) urgently.

As things now stand all this talk about "returning to society" is sheer idiocy. What society? The only society I know about is as criminal and oppressive outside of the penal institutions as are its representatives inside of them. The big difference is only in the bigness of society in general, the bigness of crime "off the street" and up in high places, and the bigness of the hostility to, and rejection of the men coming out of prisons by the very same society to which they are expected to return and adjust!

We are—whether we realize it or not—imprisoned inseparably with our confined prisoners, ex-prisoners and those who are headed for places behind walls. *We are together*. Who is going to be murdered, then? Raped? Robbed? The Whites? Of course not—and for several clear-cut reasons.

The first may not seem obvious. But Blacks who so readily make criminal attacks on their own people are, unconsciously, striking out against the unbearable situation of what appears to be permanent disunity and, therefore, the utter helplessness of a race

whose liberation from oppression can be achieved only by united initiatives of its own. They, the so-called criminals and their youthful followers, expect nothing beneficial from the white world, and see no reason for hope in their own. Hence, like caged animals, they strike at what is nearest to them—their own people. They are actually trying to *kill a situation* they hate, unaware that even in this, they are serving the white man well. For the whites need not go all out for "genocide" schemes, for which they are often charged, when Blacks are killing themselves off daily on such a large scale.

This brings us directly to the second reason why most crimes by Blacks are against Blacks and *not*, as even the whites would expect, against whites. The unequal justice system of White America encourages Black to commit crimes against Blacks, and even rewards them with lighter sentences if convicted. Black life is cheap. Black womanhood is not honored. One may destroy either with both ease and relative protection. All this could be radically changed by a nation-wide organization of the race with a *new outlook* program of a new kind of educational system, training when needed and, above all, enterprises as a job-creating system—the very first moves toward the creation of the kind of society that will give both pride and inspiration to Black youth, and the kind of society that will have positive alternatives to crimes, and one to which every prisoner can return with hope. In such a society the very expression "ex con" or "ex" anything else would be rigorously banned. This would be a part of the new education about which I have spoken. All talk about "reform" and "rehabilitation" is just so much nonsense until society itself is reformed, for you can never rehabilitate men and women who have never been habilitated in the first place. You can never *re-form* those who have never been allowed to be *formed*. Black society still has the spiritual qualities for the task. What is needed now is an honest, and unselfish collective leadership.

I have gone into some details in both outlining the most disturbing spots cast by the darkening shadows of history and also trying to pinpoint what the possible signs of promise are. For the Black world, history's Watchman could see no sign of promise, no sign of hope outside of a position of strength which unity alone can provide. But there will never be real unity without a *plan* and a *program* to sustain it. Petty power struggles, bickering and at-

tacking each other are all signs of a death wish as a race. "Which way, then, you still ensnackled Blacks?" Six thousand years of their history has answered: Unite or perish. The tragedy that bloodied the pages in every period of their history because of disunity should be warning enough for the Blacks of Africa, the Caribbeans, and elsewhere. But, being the one people who are generally ignorant of their history, it may well be that many will not see unity as a question of life or death. However, there has been so much history during the time of those now living that the precarious situation of the Black race should be obvious to all. Only a largely united people can successfully confront oppressors and, without praying on bended knees, or even pleading, secure the removal of all shackling chains. The choice is between unity of action in calm, careful thinking and planning the courses of action through one vast organization of millions—either this or ultimate damnation. If the race is incapable of unity it is incapable of survival as a free and equal people, and will deserve all the iniquities imposed upon it, for it will have proved beyond all question that it is indeed unfit to survive as a people free and equal in every respect whatsoever with the other peoples of the earth.

What is proposed here is a moratorium on futile rhetoric and the beginning of real racial unity through an action program never attempted before. Therefore, Black leadership obstacles will still be with us—and for the same ancient reasons. A mass organization expressly planned to enrich the lives of the people on all fronts, and directly through the peoples' ownership of, and profit-sharing in all economic enterprises—this will be too much for many leaders to adopt, except "in principle." And any such all-Africa race movement in the United States will certainly be bitterly opposed by all Negro integrationists because no whites would be in it. This, in their skewed minds, means "Black separatism."

BLACK SEPARATISTS— WHO ARE THEY?

The simple truth is that the African people in the United States and throughout the world are not, and never have been, *separatists* in fact. Perhaps this has been their weakness. They have never really hated the whites, and they do not really hate

whites now. What is taken for "hatred," when applied to Blacks, is their reaction against being hated, rejected and oppressed. And the thinking whites know this very well. When they cry, "racism in reverse!" or "reverse discrimination" and "reverse segregation," they are saying, in effect, that "Only we whites may be racists! Only we whites may discriminate or segregate—but not you Blacks!" All-white organizations that exclude Blacks everywhere are normal and proper from the white perspective, but an all-Black organization excluding whites? Perish the thought. Whites flee *en masse* from cities throughout the nation to avoid integrated schools and fair housing laws. These are the *real separatists*, not the Blacks who never fled from the whites at all. Yet those Blacks who said, "Let them go! Let us *not* pursue them. Let us stay where we are, stand on our own feet as men and women, and begin to build and improve our own schools and communities"—these, *not the whites*, are denounced as "separatists" or "Black Nationalists."

The question which Blacks must answer and act on, or remain forever exactly where they are, is how can a minority group in a situation distinctly different from that of any other minority, successfully live and develop happily in an overwhelmingly white society? This is the question that faces us squarely in the critical times at the Crossroads. And the decision must be taken *as a race*, and *by the race*, rather than by self-appointed leaders.

The term "crossroads" here must be taken more seriously than a mere metaphor. For a people may reach that intersection in life where the routes cross, leading in different directions. We only know the road over which we have just come. So at the crossroads we must pause, uncertain. Which way now? Which way should we go? The numerous movements, led by charismatic leaders with catchy slogans to shout, are roads many will take. The biggest crowd-drawing route will always be baited with some kind of "religion," led by some prophet or mystic. For religion—any kind of religion—has been the means by which hope was maintained by a people without any basis for hope. And the search for real leaders has always been so desperate that the people flock to this or that promoter's movement, hoping that a true leader has been found at last.

The personal wealth amassed by these leaders is a matter of pride for many of their followers. To the poor and ignorant who

are being fleeced, even the palatial mansion with colorfully uniformed servants reflect the power and glory of their leader. Criticism is silenced. For these leaders are shrewd, "natural" psychologists. They know exactly what appeals to the deprived masses—what will give them a feeling of being "somebody" and uplifted: Thousands will continue to be exploited by the smarter ones who know all the tricks that stir the emotion and empty pocketbooks. And, apparently, these countless thousands of faithful followers like it. There are several big organizations, each concerned with different aspects of the racial situation, which carry on successful and much needed work in their respective fields. Some were on the battle-front for the race when no one else was there. Without them the situation of Blacks in America would be far worse than it is. If we henceforth advance at all, no matter in what direction or how different, it will be from the foundations the best of these organizations have already laid.

How long the Black race will stand at the crossroads; uncertain what to do, confused, and, in fact actually afraid—how long, only future history will tell. But one thing is certain: There *is* a way out; there is an open, UNTRIED road. That untried road to *actual unity* and the *actual improvement* of the lives of the Black masses everywhere is exactly what is proposed in these pages—proposed in clear, concrete, and specific terms.

THE DIRECTION OF CIVILIZATION

Since, by the actual nature of things, racism will never be wished away, the human race could escape the predicted general war between races and reach a real state of civilization at last through a symbiotic society. There would be no pretense of "love and brotherhood" which did not exist in fact. The fierce and increasing battles of the whites against "integration" illustrate the point most clearly. And this is why people of the African race will have to accept the harsh fact that they are rejected by the whites, back up, and begin to reorganize for a position of power that commands respect, not love, and one that will, therefore, bring about the kind of cooperation and opportunities that eventuate in real equality and equal justice. Equality simply means the removal of

every barrier that prevents a human being from realizing his fullest potential.¹

To achieve the goal of survival and self-action progress the blacks do not have to withdraw anywhere to form a separatist society, for the whites themselves have created an even more completely black separatist society in their mad flights to the suburbs. Here we have all that is meant by symbiosis before our very eyes—living, concrete and almost complete. For, having thus withdrawn to make their own separatist community more complete, the whites must not be allowed to perpetuate the lower status of Blacks by also controlling and dominating the Black community from which they fled.

But this will mean something far more than the Black people's fragmented programs of the 1960s—marching demonstrations, singing, praying in public squares, shouting protests and slogans, or even the frantic screams of "Burn, baby, burn!" Self-destroying, uncontrolled emotional outbursts must be checked precisely because they becloud the mind—make you just the easy targets the enemy is waiting for, and thereby prevent the kind of deliberate and rational thinking and planning that can not only defend and advance the lift of the community, but can help civilization itself to survive.

Now it may well be that perceptive whites will be quick to see—probably even before Blacks—that my reference to them as the traditional enemy of the race is not at all a call for increased hatred, tensions and endless conflicts between the races. For those whites who have read even the high points of the record presented in this work will see with no trouble at all that I have singled out the exact routes to the kind of organized power and influence which will engage a subordinated people in self-improving activities that demonstrate visibly their equality as men and women throughout the world.

1. The doctrine of human equality has never meant the triumph of ignorance and incompetence over intelligence and industry. It never meant forcing those at the bottom to the top regardless of inability or lack of will. But it does mean that the ladder of opportunity should always be there for everyone to rise as high as he is able to climb and willing to go.

The perceptive whites will also see quickly enough that reference to them as enemies of the race will be a threat to their absolute supremacy only if it causes the Blacks to wake up, begin to realize how fragile is the basis for their present faith in the ultimate justice of the white man, and begin to unite to plan a different course—something they have never done before. Above all, they can see the great difference between the powerful force of a massive body organized on such a scale that it will actually represent the voice and will of Blacks in America and the relative powerlessness of individual organizations and Black capitalist groups, important and desirable as each may be in itself. For they know that both the real economic and political power in the United States is silently exercised by the thoroughly organized giant corporations which, supported and financed by the tax-paying public with government grants and subsidies, operate realistic socialism at the top. How was all this power achieved? This is the important question here. Study their steps to unity—and be amazed, because no matter how diverse and 'competitive' the giant corporations were, they formed, step by step, the most thoroughgoing system of overall unity in the world. At the summit of world corporate power, it is neither "private" nor "free" enterprise. Small business enterprises are indeed private, but they are "free" only in imagination. They are the dependent satellites of the all-powerful interlocking corporations and conglomerates. This quiet capitalistic socialism is interesting to study and compare with the openly proclaimed Marxist or state socialism. If we ignore the ideological "principles" and slogans that influence the masses, all appear as actually anti-people and, therefore, anti-civilization.

The main thrust of civilization, like religion itself, was toward a more humane society, piloted and guided by the upward march of the human spirit as man slowly advanced from beasthood to a higher and higher level of humankind. Blessed with a mind that enabled him to think, analyze, discover and invent, he could now evolve education and promote the development of science and technology to further the advance of the whole human species. The medium of exchange, which in relatively recent times became money, was expanded to facilitate the spread of necessities of life for the common welfare. But somewhere back through the years the whole upward trend was reversed as aggression inspired by

greed led to the easy acquisition of both wealth and political power by the daring few at the expense of the many. Mass poverty, and the ignorance and disease which are its inseparable companions, spread as the wealth belonging to all the people came to be owned or controlled by the few in every country, no matter what system or ideology it claimed. This is not the direction civilization is supposed to take. We have what should be its reflection: advances in science, technology, great skyscraper cities, skies filled with aircraft, moon flights—improvements in everything but man himself, his murderous, greedy soul being still ages back there in the caves of his ancestors.

For the Blacks, who are the most victimized everywhere, their own situation can be radically changed in a program that regards money only as the means by which they can do the things that must be done through cooperation. For the kind of *NEW* Cooperative organization we have been discussing will be different from those now existing in fundamental aims and objectives. The concept here is Cooperation as the humane law of life, total and actual unity, brotherhood and sisterhood throughout the organization, and not just economic cooperatives, such as stores, markets, housing, farms, etc.—important as these will be. And we say this united movement toward a more humane economic system in the midst of a dog-eat-dog, money-mad, competitive society will be a movement in the direction of real civilization. The challenging question is whether Blacks of the 20th century can recover enough of the vision, strength and will of their forefathers who built the great pyramids to undertake the tasks of this present.

THE LIBERATION OF OUR MINDS

This is Task Number One. It will not be easy, and will not be easily achieved in a single generation. The reasons have already been rather clearly set forth. The present-day confused outlook of the African people is the result of centuries of Caucasian acculturation—a quite natural process wherever one people come under the economic, political and social domination of another people. The ideologies and value system of the oppressors quite unconsciously become those of the oppressed—even when the result is demonstratively against themselves. But all other oppressed peo-

ples—whether Indian, Chinese or Japanese—were able to hold on doggedly to their own racial pride and cultural heritage as the last resource for survival as a people. Unlike the Blacks, they were never completely cut off from this sustaining life-line of every people.

In order to clear away some of the confusing cobwebs from our minds, we may be helped by re-thinking through the following propositions:

1. Black Americans *en masse* are not going to emigrate to Africa or anywhere else. This is a fact equally true of all large Black populations elsewhere outside of Africa. The *real* spirit of racial identity with the land of our forefathers, and a *real* Pan Africanism will emerge only in those Black population areas which, through their own unified development programs, have reached the level of strength that enables them to maintain a permanent system of exchange in visits, goods and services with the motherland and other areas.

2. Nobody is going to "destroy" the American system. And nobody is going to "destroy" either capitalism or communism. There will be no attempt here to go into detailed analysis to demonstrate why neither capitalism nor Communism can be acceptable wholly by the African people. Draw on any beneficial elements in each? YES. Accept either one as our total system? NO. Those who have been so brainwashed into ideological blindness that they cannot see that the actual political, economic and social structures of capitalism and communism are substantially the same, same upper ruling classes, same elite classes, and the same controlled and exploited masses—those unable to see this operating over the world before their very eyes, will, of course, be unable to see what is presented here.

3. Since most Blacks live within what is essentially a capitalist system, when they face up to the fact that neither they nor any other shouting group are going to "destroy the system," then they will be in a position to plan how to deal with the system. They not only need not wholly accept it, but they should reject "Black Capitalism" as a solution of the economic bondage problems of the masses; for, it must certainly be clear by now that my whole focus is on a system that *directly* benefits the people lower down—the

great common people—and not just the further enrichment of Blacks who are already well-off and far ahead. And Africans in a capitalist state have the freedom to organize and do for themselves things they would never be allowed to do in any communist state. This all-important fact must be acknowledged even by the bitter enemies of the system simply because it is a fact. From this fact comes the opportunity for Blacks to unite and develop a more humane economic system of a new kind of community cooperatives, owned and controlled by the people in each community.

4. The White man as an enemy of Blacks will become less and less a fact and his hostile or contemptuous attitude will change to more and more respect if and when this race begins to move forward on three fronts: (a) The first is the kind of massive organization the very existence of which means the presence of an organized POWER to be reckoned with. (b) The second is a nation-wide economic development program, promoted by the unified "race organization" as enterprises of a united people, as distinguished from those of private individuals and corporations. The aims would be the creation of career and general employment opportunities, a national foundation and central banking system to maintain and safeguard the financial resources required to carry on the work of the race—and without which we can only remain a pleading and begging people (c) Political Action: There is no question about better race relations developing as more and more members of the race register and vote, and the number of Black officials elected to office increases. The recent notable increase in the number of Black elected officials in the United States, be it remembered, resulted almost entirely from the existence of predominantly Black communities after the whites had withdrawn to the suburbs. The bitter irony in this situation is that thousands of Negro integrationists quickly took advantage of this concentration of Black political power to be elected to local, state and national offices (Congerss). If their program to break up all Black Communities and "scatter-site" the people among the whites had succeeded they would never have been elected to office. The few well known exceptions do not change the picture. Yet the great focus of today's Black leaders, young and old, is on "Politics."

That is understandable, for we are still in the talking stage, and politics is a profession of talkers.

The drive to increase the Black Vote should go on. The election of Blacks to office should be accelerated. Still the central questions will demand answers sooner or later: What kind of persons are we electing? After the politicians are elected to the various offices, who, besides themselves, actually benefit from all the campaigning and voting? How much *real* difference would it make in the situation of Blacks in this country if we elected 15 U.S. Senators, 100 Congressmen, 5,000 state legislators, mayors, etc.? For what is well known is that some "Black officials, once elected to office, turn out to be as conservative and reactionary as any Congressman from the backwoods of Mississippi. Yet politics are too important to be left forever in present situations. Blacks need more political education on how to choose whom, or evaluating guidelines above the prevailing "gift of gab." The respect of the whites (which was the point of departure) in the realm of politics may be very superficial indeed and tentative. Here he is seeking the Black vote, seeking help in securing a better job and a better position of political power. Black political power can support, but never replace an organized economic power system *within the race* itself that gives it the resources to do what has to be done—the only move that will command the respect for Blacks *as a people* throughout the world.

5. The fifth barrier to the liberation of our minds would have been set forth first if we were proceeding in the order of importance or difficulty. For it is, perhaps, the most tragic and formidable. That mental blockage of total liberation developed from the way religion has been used to capture, enslave and exploit the Black people of the world for over a thousand years. For the African people are, and always have been, a very religious and highly spiritual people. But we were also a religiously gullible people, believing that the religion of the foreigners, and their belief in one supreme God, though called by different names, were essentially the same as our own. And this was right. What the Blacks did not know, however, was that while both Christianity and Islam were in themselves great and acceptable faiths, they were being used by men whose main purposes were conquest and enslavement in pursuit of economic and political power. The whole continent of Africa was taken over, its wealth

exploited, and its people dehumanized through enslavement—all in the name of Jesus Christ, Allah, and Civilization. Their success is always assured because, when the spotlights of history are turned on and reveal that those conquest aims were for political domination and economic exploitation under the cover of religion, they scream that their religion itself is under attack—and their faithful followers believe it! Thus the great religions of both Islam and Christianity have been disgraced by evil men with bloodcurdling cries of "Jihad!", or "Holy War" against Black unbelievers ("pagans"), or the Christian missions of civilization that rationalized European conquests. The future task before Black Muslims and Black Christians is distinguishing their true religion from how evil men have used it to serve their own non-religious purposes. This writer, for example, is a devout Christian, but that fact does not blind him to the chains of bondage hammered on his race in the name of Christianity or cause him to try to gloss over or soften the records of history when his own religion is unfavorably exposed.

6. To escape at last from our mental house of bondage we must see this color crazy world in a clearer perspective, for "color crazy" it is. We should begin by drawing a vast African circle of honor around all those millions of Africans of mixed blood often referred to as Mulattoes, who from the earliest times to the present have stood steadfast and loyally identified with the race of their originally Black mothers. They deserve special honor exactly because they did not have to do so when amalgamation of the races spread over Egypt and the Arabic world, and they had compelling reasons for *not* being identified with black-skinned Africans. For they were classified as "white" and, therefore, not subject to enslavement. This fact is of the greatest importance in understanding the history of this race, for if skipped over as it always has been, that history will remain confused. Therefore, we have pointed out that when the general enslavement of whites and mulattoes ended and slavery was confined to those with black skins, the color of black itself became the trade mark of slavery and, therefore, anathema, evil, and the worst that could happen to a human being was to be born black. And this is why we have drawn an African Circle of Honor around those of mixed blood who, in spite of all this even through the most frightful centuries, split off from their pro-white and anti-black brothers and sisters to remain with the unfortunate Blacks.

Where the future of an entire race is the concern, the importance of being fully aware of the great difference in racial attitude that has always existed among those of mixed blood should be self-evident. The course of that future will be determined by a growing mass of intelligence and alertness which enables people to use quite different criteria in the search for honest and reliable leaders. At present our mental laziness permits any smooth and fast-talker to assume leadership. Just knowing about anti-black mulattoes will not remove need to know what each individual stands for. "Color" is no guide, for the blackest of the Blacks may be an arch traitor. The best route emerges before the eyes in every race-wide situation:—A race-wide organization, in this case to provide mass education in the homes, the kind of community wide information that will enable the people to choose dedicated and competent leaders and other essential workers, and ferret out the exploiters who worm their way into key offices which enable them, as representatives of the white man, to defeat or check any organized, all-Black efforts to advance.

7. In view of the facts already set forth, it should not be surprising why so many American Negroes are identifying themselves with the Arabic Middle East or Asia rather than Africa. The fact that in the United States all Africans, and persons with any discernible African blood, were legally classified as Negroes made a most important difference, and contrasted sharply with other parts of the world where mulattoes are either classified as white or given the legal status of a separate ethnic group with a privileged status above those with dark or black complexion. Even Mulattoes arriving from some of the West Indian islands are often shocked to find the American practice of classifying all of them as Negroes. They resent it, and many will not live in the United States for this reason. By contrast, the Anti-black mulattoes in the United States, while resenting the indiscriminate grouping also, have accepted both "Negro" and "Colored" as proper names (and "Black" tentatively for strategic leadership reasons), have sought a break-through by spearheading drives for integration, forced busing for "racial balance," and scatter-site housing in white suburbia. Most important, during the past twenty years increased travel enabled them to learn with certainty that mulattoes are indeed considered "white" throughout the Muslim middle East and Muslim North Africa—Egypt,

Algeria, Tunis, Morocco, Syria, Jordan, Iraq and the Holy Land of Islam—Saudi Arabia.

Now anyone who is even moderately acquainted with the history of the Arab slave trade for the past two thousand years would know that, as a result, there are not only millions of mulattoes throughout the Arab states, but countless thousands of jet-black Africans whose ancestors were born there also. All speak Arabic, are Muslims, and consider themselves Arabs for exactly the same reasons—as emphasized before—that Blacks born in the United States consider themselves Americans. One can very readily understand why those Negroes who wish to escape Black or African identity are pushing for an identity of color with their kind in those countries where they are "white" and, therefore, in a class distinctly superior to the still enslaved or subordinated Blacks still living there. And they have every right, natural and otherwise, to follow their own inclinations.

Indeed, the race would experience the joyful relief that comes with a new birth of freedom if this particular group would stop trying to operate in both the white and Black worlds, stop straddling the fence and get down decisively on the side of its choice. They will never do this, of course, because they enjoy the same double advantage of a most famous ancestor, Leo Africanus who, when pressed in Rome to say whether he considered himself African or white, replied that he shifted to whatever side it was expedient to be on from time to time. "When the Africans are on top, I am an African," he said. This class of mixed bloods will always be an embarrassing threat to the other millions who, although also of mixed blood, are wholly African in spirit and pride. These latter are the Adam Clayton Powells of the race who are not only above suspicion, but are regarded by the Black masses as inseparably their own.

That a "little learning is a dangerous thing" is also indicated among the relatively few who preach about the Jews being a "black people," Joseph and Mary being "black" and Jesus Christ—also "black" etc. . . . A group of American Negroes recently went to Israel, claiming that they were the "original" Jews, the "Lost Tribe of Israel," and that, therefore, the country belonged to them. Movements of this kind would not deserve even a sentence here if they were not indicative of the frustrations and confusion, and the frantic pulling in different directions which further bind the race

in chains difficult to break. They are mental chains as well as blinders.

Now the confusion about "Black Jews" derives from the same historic developments which have been explained about white and Black Arabs—exactly the same. For we have shown that Jews were in Africa from the earliest times and that Africans were in Palestine from the earliest times. And just as the Jews ruled in African Egypt for several centuries, so also the Africans ruled over Palestine for several centuries. But, unlike the Arabs, the Jews never engaged in the general enslavement of Blacks. In cases of warfare either side might capture segments of the population to be marched off to work in the victorious nation, a notable instance being the Jewish captivity in Egypt and their later emancipation and return under the leadership of Moses. Not only did many Coloured Jews cross the Red Sea with Moses, but doubtless many converted jet-black Jews such as the wife of the Lawgiver himself. Furthermore, as in the case of the Arabs, we often confuse race with religion. The people we call "Jews" indiscriminately are Hebrews by race and Jews by religion. Anyone can be a Jew, but not a Hebrew. The Hebrews and the Arabs are both white Semitic peoples, and no number of offsprings by non-Hebrews and non-Arabs, or adherents to either religion, will ever change this absolute fact. After all those centuries of racial mixing there was nothing unusual about the appearance of great Coloured leaders in Palestine or anywhere else in Asia, including from time to time their rise to kingship in Israel, Syria (Aram), Mesopotamia etc.

But the white Jews (Hebrews) and white Arabs remain exactly what they always were—white; and this is why (and who pretends not to know it?) that there is a racial crisis today in Israel between the ruling white Jews and the Coloured Jews who have migrated there from the above mentioned lands. These are the Coloured adherents of Judaism from Arab countries, but who never became Muslims. It will be going overboard to drown if we follow fanatics in attempting to "blackize" everything and everybody that suit their fancy. It is quite useless and unnecessary to try to make either Jesus Christ or the Prophet Mohammad "Black" or even "Coloured." However, the most important point to be noted in reference to the American Negro group, the "Lost Tribe of Israel" which landed there only to be rejected, is that it illustrates dramatically all that

has been presented in these pages about those groups within the African race that are trying hard to escape from it, seeking their identity with a white people—any white people. And we have said, "Let them go!" The only thing we object to, and will fight to the end, is the attempt to program the whole race again on a march away from itself or allow them to remain as leaders of the same people from which they wish to flee.

8. Finally, another major obstacle to unity and progress that is hardly ever openly discussed must not only be discussed but attacked in a nation-wide program *in the home*. Obviously, only a massive nation-wide organization can deal successfully with any of our "massive" problems. This one concerns an inheritance from slavery. It is the attitude of indifference and disrespect of Blacks toward Blacks. To the average Black another Black is not as important as someone—anyone—of another race. Therefore, Black clerks or salespersons will serve whites more quickly and politely than they will serve members of their own race. This evil spirit from slavery pervades all "classes"—whether lawyers, carpenters, doctors, painters, nurses, shop owners, school heads, teachers, repairmen, garbage and trash men, paperhangers, taxi drivers, movers and haulers, employees in homes *et al.* The only thing you can count on being first class are the charges—which are often higher than what the whites pay for the services these same Blacks give at the highest level of their competence. The exceptions to this general rule are not enough to affect such a damaging situation. This is why, in proposing specific steps in organizing a whole people, emphasis is placed on training at the very outset for all persons involved directly in the work. For the great task of developing real mutual respect must be undertaken by people who have it themselves. We are no longer interested in the often hypocritical rhetoric of "brothers and sisters." Too often "brothers and sisters" are mouthed by some with the biggest "Afro-bush" while mugging, raping or killing these same "brothers and sisters."

Out of this general attitude, which serves the White Supremacy position so well, develops an indifference to high standards of excellence in all-Black situations, the idea that efficiency and expertise are unnecessary in all-Black situations, and that strict business methods in the areas of auditing, accounting, or strict financial procedures in the collection, deposit and management of other

peoples money—these safeguards are thought by many to have no place in the Black community. Here we have a contradictory mental twist among Blacks. For while distrust of one another is characteristic, when it comes to the thousands of do-good organizations into which we pour millions of dollars, the idea is that one should trust the brothers and sisters who collect, hold, and control the people's money. Re-education will be required for the two mandatory changes in attitude: one toward each other in terms of mutual respect, and the other, a change in attitude about efficiency, expertise in business management and financial responsibility and administration. Unless we begin to develop and expand these *first*, a great survival movement will fail just as many other noble efforts failed because the rush neglected the necessary foundation.

CHAPTER XV

The Shape of Things To Come: A Master Plan

IT HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY STATED IN SUBSTANCE THAT although the African people may continue their present course of weakness on into the future with thousands of ununified organizations, powerless and, therefore forever dependent like half-men and half-women unable to use their own brains—although this tragic situation may continue into an uncertain future, we say, it can never be said again that such a hopeless situation persists because no member of the race or any group has ever studied the principal problems and the obstacles to their solutions based on history, and then offered an overall plan as one of the possible lines of march out of the morass. For there have been a number of plans. The weakness of some is that instead of being presented as a proposal, a point of beginning for the express purpose of making such revisions or amendments as the people think best, they are too often presented authoritatively as *fait accompli*, a reflection of the leader's ego, infallible wisdom and power.

In this section are the specifics of a *MASTER PLAN*. It is to be the functioning framework of a unifying Race Organization of a kind never presented to the Black race before. To make all of this "crystal clear," what is meant by race organization, how it will differ from anything attempted before, and what should be some of its guiding principles and understandings are enumerated below. For emphasis, a few of the most important propositions are necessary recapitulations of points already presented in preceding pages.

The main focus here is on Blacks in the United States because, whether they know it or not, they are in the very best situation to be the lead-off example for the whole African world.

I.

"Race Organization" here means a nation-wide organization of Blacks only. But it means much more: the organization should be so structured through all elements of the Black population, and on an active membership so vast that it would go far beyond the accepted scientific criteria for determining the wishes of a whole people. In other words, the first objective would be to have a representative scheme of organization that would, beyond all doubt, be the voice of Black America; and to keep this an actual fact by periodic polls as crucial issues affecting the race as a group arise. No such organization ever existed among us; hence, no real unity exists among us.

II.

Far from being a "separatist" movement, as these terms are generally understood, the organization would be *cooperative* in the fullest and most humane meaning of that word. For the Black masses are not going to give up their 400 years of investment in America—400 years of investments in blood and labor to build up its present great wealth—they are not about to "separate," migrate anywhere, leaving all those centuries of toil as a free gift to the whites. This means that we shall continue to battle for equal employment and advancement throughout the United States and in every area of the nation's life, the expansion of voting and elections to public office and, in general, the exercise without exceptions of all the rights and duties of other citizens.

This also represents our conviction that the Black masses will not be seriously influenced by the pipe dream of a separate, independent "Nation" or "Republic" within the territorial confines of the United States. They have too much commonsense for that, and would reject such movements in sheer self-defense even if the whites withdrew and turned over five Southern states for such a purpose.

Negro integrationists would oppose this, of course, but for an

obviously quite different reason. Their drive is to break up *existing* Black communities and scatter the people among hostile whites.

A great nation-wide organization of Blacks, therefore, would be in the only possible position to cooperate and work out common problems with whites as equals, and this is from a position backed by organized power—the only position respected at this stage of human development.

III.

It was stated above that we would continue to push for equal employment and political opportunities on all fronts. The sadly missing link, however, is that we ourselves have done little to create employment opportunities. If we say that, as a race, we are too poor to engage in productive activities that would create thousands of jobs for our young people—if we continue "traditional" pleas of poverty, our total spending of 42 to 50 billion dollars each year rises up to call us liars! *We are able.*

Those who wish to engage in private enterprise for their own personal benefit will always be free to do so; and there will always be some pride in pointing out this or that rich Black Capitalist. When we consider the welfare of the whole community, however, we are getting back to a basic African ideology, which is that the welfare of the people as a whole takes priority over that of the individual. The Organization will be a national community made up of the numerous Black communities. In demanding rights it will also assume the race's responsibility for creating some of the opportunities itself. The most crucial point to be considered and remembered is the vast difference between what the Blacks do as a race, from the viewpoint of world opinion, and what a Black individual does.

IV.

Not "unity just for unity," but unity for great achievements, not one of which can be realized without it.

The first great understanding should be that *the unity we seek cannot be achieved by organization alone. Even an organization of several million members will have no lasting basis for existence unless the total membership is mutually and individually involved in activities which each feels is important and will be directly*

beneficial to him all in his own lifetime. Direct membership by families may turn out to be more important than one based on a federation of existing organizations. Actual unity will be achieved, not by preaching, pleading or exhortations, but almost unconsciously as people work together for mutual benefits to each other and the advancement of the race as a whole. Meaningful, practical activities which involve even children in attacking the problems of their race will be the cement which we call unity.

The second great understanding should be that economic activities are so fundamental in any truly upward movement, so clearly indispensable at this stage in history, that it should be unnecessary to state it even. The still existing slave mentality causes millions of us to shy away from this basis of life itself because it requires more initiative, training and work, and less talk than politics. Consequently, the overall picture we present to the world is that of a race of dependent job seekers, ourselves unable to engage in the large-scale production of any of the necessities of life, whether they are the shoes and clothing we wear or the food we eat. Hence, the billions of dollars we spend each year, just in these categories, we eagerly give back to the whites to strengthen their power over us while becoming richer and richer at the same time.

Economic development activities are direct survival activities, the means of existence—helping to provide the means of existence. It is as simple as that. The main goals of a great unity movement can never be reached unless the Organization has its own self-generating financial resources to protect, defend and promote the interests of the race. Organizations which must be subsidized by government and foundation grants to exist are not in an independent position.

The third understanding should be clear that all community enterprises, contrary to capitalism, will be owned and operated by the people in the community, that they will be the shareholders, that all the trained personnel in each store, plant or any other enterprise will be shareholders (and, therefore part owners) of such establishments, that all profits will belong to the people, but full responsibility for the first class service, efficiency and general business management will be that of elected managers, and not the general membership.

Finally, the scope and nature of the proposed Divisions in the

last section of this work will doubtless make even clearer the real significance of a nation-wide organization. For in addition to the work involved in raising not just the hopes, but the level of life of those lower down, equally important would be what this massive consolidation of unused power can do in the following areas:

1. It can influence American foreign policy and actions in regard to crucial matters affecting African nations just as effectively as American Jews can influence this country's relations with Israel. And, as another example, it could stop the use of millions of Black taxpayers dollars to help Portugal suppress the Freedom Fighters in its African empire. If a deaf ear is turned to such protests, several million Blacks could pledge to withhold the payment of taxes until all armed assistance for the war against Africans ceases—something a disunited people are helpless to do now. This would be real Pan Africanism.

2. An overall race organization can deal more effectively with some important problems at home more effectively than any smaller, independent group can do nationwide. The higher rents and higher prices paid for goods and services in "inner cities" than those paid in the affluent white suburbs—this open yet silent war against the Blacks is being accepted because we are helplessly disorganized. The studies have already been made. The facts have been established. What the people need is a national defender to further expose and attack this and other fronts of the silent war that is quietly being carried on each day against a now helpless people, many of whom are not really aware of its extent.

3. It can carry on a nation-wide education program directly into the homes, reversing the "poor and deprived homes" negative outlook to a positive one. Heading the information agenda would be a focus on those death-dealing diseases which impair both mind and body in the diseased wombs of mothers. The widest information should be given on the fact that ignorance or indifference to personal health can result in children being born mentally and physically retarded, and thus handicapped for life not by genetic preconditions but by the acts of their parents.

Home studies for the entire family can be promoted, and the *Home Beautiful* can become a principal aim in every Black community.

4. It can oversee the welfare of the race by maintaining a check on the extent Blacks are secretly used exclusively as guinea pigs in dangerous experiments by various medical projects. Neither the Tuskegee experiments nor the number of our people who needlessly suffered and died from them must be passed over as an unusual and isolated incident. The many years the government and the doctors were able to keep this particular secret should be a matter of grave concern. It is also important to know to what extent Negro physicians participate in such experiments. For, of course, no one should be asked to believe that such experiments could be carried out on Blacks only in such large numbers, and over such a long period without any Black doctors knowing about them.

5. Such a race movement would be superficial indeed if it proceeded without its principal foundation, which is the ownership of vast tracts of farm and timber land in various parts of the country. The current ideological cry of "We must have land!" is valid only if we answer the question, "for what purpose?" or "to what end?" Our sloganeers rarely explain the slogans. But land is for production. And its ownership and use will become more and more necessary for survival since even now 75 percent of the American population is concentrated on only 2 percent of the land in cities and towns.

Land should be for a more abundant life, carried on in large scale production programs such as cattle ranches for beef, hog farms for pork products, turkey farms, poultry and eggs, vegetables of all kinds, corn, wheat, etc., etc.

6. It can have, on behalf of the race it represents, a Central National Bank as the people's national depository and central financing agency; a national auditing and accounting service; a general insurance system covering especially those categories where Blacks are arbitrarily denied protection or are charged much higher rates than those paid by whites; home improvement, building and small loans could all be handled by community credit unions, organized on a somewhat different basis than existing credit unions. For one thing, all community credit unions in various sections of a city would be united as one to reinforce each other's services when needed.

7. It can give new hope and a new sense of direction to the thousands behind prison walls and, in time, practically empty the prisons of those convicted of crimes for which the whites go free. The important thing, however, is that the youths, men and women coming out of prisons would have something to come to: training or retraining for their much needed service in helping to build and advance themselves as they build and advance their race. They have never had such an opportunity.

8. The great change in outlook and the new inspiration that would come to Black children and youth are immeasurable. Just to know that their parents are engaged in, and actively a part of a great movement will give a new sense of worth and dignity. No longer will it be necessary to shout in unison, "I *am*—somebody!" For the children of janitors, trash haulers, maids and parents in similar occupations—their children will regard them with pride and in a new light. We are great if we are an active part of a great movement.

Up to now Black children have been badly cheated. They have never had the inspiring reasons to study and advance which are constantly before the eyes of white children. And this central fact of difference has led me to suppose that some Providential favor must have enabled the Black students of the world to do so well in the face of it all.

Finally, and obviously, none of the above can be achieved on a nation-wide scale without a nation-wide movement of several million members, organized as a race, working *as a race* for its interests as full-fledged American citizens.

HOW TO BEGIN—AND BY WHOM?

In the section titled "The Liberation of Our Minds" the various factors which explain the generally dependent disposition of African people today were outlined in some detail. They reveal the tragic extent to which a dominant group can shape and control even the thinking of the suppressed group. This meant that, unlike other peoples, the Blacks voluntarily remained mentally enslaved even after their physical emancipation. That Caucasianization of the Blacks was so well done over so many centuries that it is doubtful if real liberation of our minds will be achieved in this

generation. Yet the Black youth in the 1960s brought about the greatest reversal of the race's attitude toward itself that had ever been achieved before. There is, therefore, no grounds for despair and much ground for faith if we understand that total liberation will be slow even with the best efforts and that there will always be those who have the white viewpoint on race and will never abandon it. These cannot stop the onward march of the whole people to human equality and dignity.

But who will begin to lay the first stone in the foundation of the greatest movement for racial unity and power ever undertaken? And how might such a task begin?

Some of us, who would otherwise be naturally expected to lead off, have already spent so many years in studying the history of the crisis and analyzing the problems that we are now near the end of our journey, and must pass the undertaking to those more able to carry on.

This, like every great movement, *will be initiated by just one individual*. No great gathering or crowd starts a movement. Quite the contrary, when the many assemble it is because someone has already begun. *One person* has already thought matters through and resolved that a beginning must be made. He should not be the usual "leader" whose fiery denunciations of wrongs against Blacks may be counted on to stir emotions—and that is all. The *one person* needed is simply one who is dedicated with a sense of mission for his race, seeking nothing but the opportunity to serve it. There are doubtless countless thousands of such sons and daughters of the race—willing and ready, but either not knowing what to do or afraid of their own capabilities, and "leave it to somebody else."

Yet all *one person* has to do is to ask five or six other people to study THE PLAN, and then meet later to discuss it—just five or six persons, not one of whom needs to be a "big name."

This small initial group of six could have each member become a committee of one, each to nominate three other people to study The Plan before the next meeting, at which time the 18 members could become the nucleus for a general organizing committee. Further nominations to the Organizing Committee should be representative of all groups—students, laborers, clerks, etc., as well as professionals. The representatives on the Organizing Com-

mittee may be from national organizations (all Black), or smaller organizations, lodgers, clubs, etc.

This core committee, after a series of meetings during which The Master Plan has been studied in detail and revisions or amendments have been proposed for future action, could then proceed to develop and carry out plans for the formation of a national organizing committee composed of representatives from various sections of the country. (Note that even at the outset of organizing some funds will be required if effective work is to be done).

The work of the National Organizing Committee would be crucial: It would have to—

1. Summarize the main features of The Plan and outline them in the simplest terms for publication, distribution and broadcasts to the Black World.

2. Determine ways and means of funding the organizing procedures.

3. Determine the best general membership enrollment procedures, such as moving state by state, setting one year membership goal for each state, instead of attempting to organize throughout the nation all at once.

4. Divide each state into districts, each with an organizing committee with a chairman; the same divisional scheme for towns and cities, each section having a committee and chairman.

5. Draw heavily on young people, who really started the movement and who should, therefore, be a most powerful force in carrying it on.

6. Conduct in advance a nation-wide poll to determine (a) How many Black people in America desire the proposed overall organization of the race and (b) how many agree to participate in its activity.

7. Clarify the scheme of organization to emphasize the individuality of membership i.e., an association or union, etc., may join as such, but its main role would be setting the example for its members who may or may not wish to join; the organization would have its own membership card, and each of its members who joined would have his or her own membership card. In the case of organization by families—the most significant innovation—each family

would have a family membership card, and each member of the family from age 5 on would have his or her own membership card.

8. Set the national membership goals as 2 year plans, 3 year plans, 5 year plans, etc., but always in terms of millions.

9. Determine time and place for the first general assembly for the formal ratification and launching of action-program.

10. Have Information and Publicity Committee maintain various media to keep constantly before the people the plans, purposes, or goals of the movement, who is doing what, and the progress being made.

11. Propose annual awards to individuals and groups that have been outstanding in their work for racial unity through organized action.

Everything in this final chapter, then, is a guideline for thinking and rethinking about how to deal with the situation in which we live. The Plan itself is a proposal. Revisions and Amendments will be proposals—all tentative until approved by the people.

The functioning organization would be under the overall administration of a National Council of Leaders, headed by a National chairman (following traditional patterns of African Council of Elders). Every state, city or community division, would also be organized under councils of leaders.

The organizational structure of the Movement should be by major divisions for the major activities, each divided into departments for carrying on their respective programs. Special study and analysis should be given to each Division and each department coming under it, for there could be no better way to understand the scope and significance of what is presented here. This should be easy for all, because I have not been dealing with idealistic, unattainable dreams or mere academic theories, but very practical, day to day problems. In so doing, I have deliberately avoided the academic and often esoteric language of scholarship.

STRUCTURE BY DIVISIONS

I.

THE DIVISION OF ECONOMIC PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT

The Division of Economic Planning and Development should be the foundation of the organized efforts and a principal source of support and promotion of the most important activities of the whole race. A guiding principle should be that all promoted community enterprises shall be cooperatively owned and controlled by the people of the community and that each enterprise be under highly trained management and competent service personnel.

DEPARTMENTS:

A. Department for Promotion of Community Cooperative enterprises.

- (1) To conduct surveys to determine what the people want and need.
- (2) Soundness of project.
- (3) Ways and means of community financing and securing trained personnel and management.

The community enterprises would be nationwide and, while owned and operated by the people in the various towns and cities, would operate as a nationwide chain of stores and markets for mass buying power and distribution. This would be the system whether the enterprises are food markets, shoe stores, department stores or any other undertaking which can be developed as a chain store system.

B. The Department of Finance, Banking, and Credit Unions.

- (1) For promoting a consortium of banks operated by members of the race and the expansion of financing and banking systems. These would be branches of a Central National Bank of the organization.
- (2) Credit Unions for individual assistance and building and loan services. Primarily for communities without needed building and loans services for Blacks.

- C. The Institute of Technology and Personnel Training. This would be a *Key* program of the movement. For while it would engage in the training of expert technicians for the various fields of operation under the PLAN, a principal objective would be the kind of creative expertise required for large scale manufacturing operations—shoe manufacturing; men, women and children's clothes, hats, underwear, canning; frozen foods, furniture; mattress-making, and other products.

The personnel training sections would have an importance for the race beyond the ordinary. Blacks are generally still quicker and more polite when serving white people. Their attitude toward members of their own race is one of indifference and often insulting. This is known to be true both in Africa and America. Yet this crucial question is not mentioned even in discussion of why "Negro" business fails. This negative and essentially anti-black attitude of Blacks towards Blacks, a left-over from slavery and our history, must be uncompromisingly and even ruthlessly dealt with in both training and day-to-day administration.

- D. Central Office of Accounting and Finance Control

Here again is an area in which Blacks are weak: money management and control. This Central Office of Accounting and Finance Control would keep a rigorous check on all income and expenditures of the National organization and provide similar auditing and accounting units for the local community organizations and enterprises.

- E. Department of Land Reclamation and Farming.

Principal Aim: To secure large tracts of land in various parts of the country to (1) raise vegetables of all kinds for the various community markets, (2) hogs, beef cattle, poultry and eggs, (3) farm homes for persons who would work on the and (4) country camp centers for rest and play.

Special Note: Without the farm lands we may as well forget about canning and frozen food industries or reducing the cost of living for our people by supplying their community stores with fresh vegetables, meats, butter and eggs from their own farms. Vast land holding is the cornerstone of the Master Plan.

F. Transport and Distribution Agency.

This department would be primarily concerned with long distance shipping from farms, plants and other points, and maintaining the trucks, shipping vans and required maintenance services.

G. Central Purchasing and Supply Agency.

In addition to its obvious functions this department would be responsible for the proper location and supervision of the various warehouses required as the community enterprises expand.

[All of the departments and agencies listed above would be in the Division of Economic Planning and Development].

II.

DIVISION OF POLITICAL ACTION

- (1) Promote and assist voter registration; (2) provide "profile" of candidates—local, state and national; (3) prepare bills and other measures affecting the group for state legislatures and the U.S. Congress; (4) liaison with White House; and (5) all actions that can be taken through the political process to protect and promote the welfare of Black Americans.

III.

DIVISION OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

Purpose: To achieve a higher standard of teaching and student achievement on every level involved in the education of Black children and youth; and to develop a better system of general adult education in all Black communities. This Division would include:

- A. Foundation for directed research, field studies and the training of scholars for neglected areas in various aspects of African life and history.
- B. A General Publishing Board: (1) Textbooks and other works related to progress of the race; (2) newspapers and magazines, a professional journal, community-action newsletters, etc.
- C. Committee of Visitors.

These should be in every community to (1) become acquaint-

ed with teachers, students and the textbooks and other learning materials; (2) to determine to what extent, if any, the anti-African or anti-black feeling on the part of many teachers of Black youth may be hidden the obstacle to their progress in school work.

Every Committee of School Visitors should be elected by the people of the community and should report directly to them. But "education" here means far more than "school" education. It means spreading light through a comprehensive program into the deprived areas of the community: New standards for better health; better homes and gardens; neighborhood improvement activities; and sponsoring neighborhood conferences on questions of mutual community and educational interest.

A Division of Education would justify its existence if it did nothing more than conduct studies as a basis for proposing certain guidelines for the race in the United States. The general confusion and mess-up in the Black Studies Movement, for example, could have been avoided if the young people had had somewhere to turn for help in determining procedures and priorities. What united guiding voice was there to advise them that all fields could not possibly or sensibly be started at once; that there were neither a fraction of the trained teachers required nor suitable books or other needed teaching and learning materials? Only three or four courses could have been profitably started while research and training prepared the way for a real educational experience in others to be started later. Even then, common sense would have dictated that Black Studies can only be carried on in certain schools by certain teachers. To force them into white schools only because they are "integrating" and find it an expedient policy for the moment is one of those Black illusions of achievement that still lead us astray. Equally ridiculous is the assumption that unwilling and uncommitted white and Negro teachers are going to now deal fairly with the very aspects of civilization which they have systematically excluded from instruction all along. If this were not the case, of course, there would be no such phenomenon today as "Black Studies."

IV.

DIVISION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES

- A. Department of Health and Sanitation
 - 1. Council of Physicians, Dentists, Nurses, Medical Aides and laymen (a) Home Visiting Nurse Service.
 - 2. Community Clinics.
 - 3. Community clean block and alley program.
 - 4. Better Home life Counseling Service.
 - 5. A "Home-Beautiful" Program
- B. Legal Aid Services: All matters of injustice because of race, and the legal work of the Movement.

V.

DIVISION OF YOUTH ACTIVITIES

To assume leadership roles in all areas and undertakings for which they are capable. Students and non-students should join hands in the race-building efforts. One of their precious responsibilities should be the Department of Children Affairs (ages 5 to 12) which is in their division. (The underlying idea here is to have specific and important roles for all children and youth).

VI.

DIVISION OF PAN AFRICAN AFFAIRS

This Division would maintain direct contacts and the closest relationship with the people and states of Black Africa, the Caribbean and the other black population centers around the world. The purposes would be specific: (1) To keep them fully informed on what we are doing—and how; (2) to learn from them what they are doing and how; (3) to find out what the obstacles are in each black area, including our own, and to counsel together on ways and means of overcoming the seemingly impossible; (4) to explore for, and then actually determine definite ways for mutual assistance. When this is done, we will have moved from the case of Pan-African talk to the work of Pan-Africa in action; (5) to trade in the exchange of goods and services, scientific and technical knowledge.

VII.

DIVISION OF INTELLIGENCE AND SECURITY

This Division would maintain highly trained intelligence agents to (1) check internal subversion and activities of agents placed within the organization by others, (2) secure complete records of all persons employed by or connected with the organization, (3) promote formation and training of self-protection units everywhere to defend the community against unlawful and unjust raids and other forms of murderous attacks should they occur. This simply means preparedness for defense against attacks by well known and well organized "Citizen's" paramilitary groups.

VIII.

THE COMMISSION FOR SPIRITUAL
LIFE AND ASSISTANCE

This should be the race's "Great Commission." Its major tasks would be (1) to determine the direction of civilization; (2) to interpret the "spiritual" as men and women working on the highest level of humane endeavors to understand the meaning of life while trying to improve it; (3) to enlist the cooperation of white, brown, yellow, red and any and all other peoples of goodwill in an all-out drive for a better world; (4) to maintain an emergency assistance program for families or communities in distress; (5) and to assume the initiative in seeking the active cooperation of any and all religious faiths and all institutions which are concerned with improving human relations and, therefore, life itself.

X.

IDEOLOGY AND GUIDELINES

With the development of a movement of this magnitude, the Black people may begin to learn at last how utterly futile it is to grasp as their own the ideologies developed *by* the white world *for the people of this white world*. They, the Black "leaders" of a still leaderless yet hopeful people have been, and still are, expecting the solution of the race's problems to be handed to them on the silver platters of either Capitalism or Com-

munism. Elements of both of these systems prevailed in Africa several thousand years before either Capitalism or Marxism was born in the West. Black people generally could not be expected to know this because, unlike other peoples, they have been completely cut off from their past history and, therefore, are ignorant of their own philosophy of life, ancient religion, institutions which were borrowed by others. What the need now, therefore, is neither "Black Capitalism" nor "Black Communism"—both of which benefit those at the top and exploit the masses—but what is needed is an ideology of "Black Africanism," operating within the framework of the traditional African Philosophy of life and the best of its value system.

IX.

GUIDELINES¹

A. The Movement will seek to achieve the largest possible measure of Unity in order (1) to form the power base as the organized voice of the Black people in a particular region or nation; (2) to develop from this "position of strength" the much needed economic enterprises that will not only create employment opportunities but, being owned directly by the people in the community, will lower the cost and raise the standard of living for all.

B. Financing

There would be a general membership fee. Each community enterprise would be financed initially by the purchase of shares of participating owners. Each share would be at a purchase price in reach of the poorest. Indeed, a special program for share-holding by children should be an important part of the movement. Each share draws a fixed interest as a loan. But, unlike Capitalism, members do not vote by shares. The member who may be able to buy 100 shares has only *one* vote like the member who could buy only *one* share. The objective is a mass membership and a mass patronage of their own enterprises. The

1. For a "refresher" read Chapter VI again: The African Constitution: Birth of Democracy.

additional direct benefits are the patronage dividends received according to the amount purchased in a given period. In private enterprise or "Black Capitalism" this would be profit that the owner makes. Under Communism, it goes to the "state." *Under our Community Cooperative System*, the "profit" belongs to the people; for the reason for it all is to benefit the people and not to enrich any one person or small group.

C. Administration.

The organization will be based upon the traditional African Constitutional System.

(1) There will be no authoritarian presidents or heads. As in traditional Africa, the king or chief was the spokesman of the *previously expressed* will of the people and the instrument for carrying out that will; the national head or heads of the organization and the head of every unit thereof will function in like manner: issuing no important orders or public statements on behalf of the organization or the race it will represent without consent of the Council.

(2) The Organization will modernize the ancient African Council of Elders only to the extent of changing "Elders" to "Leaders" in order to admit outstanding young people to membership. The Council of Leaders, therefore, become the highest governing authority on each level—local community, state and national—each leader being the elected representative of a constituency to which he is responsible for his actions on the Council. This means that on all highly important matters the leader on the Council does not vote independently according to *his* individual judgment, but must determine in advance the collective will of the people.

(3) The "highest" officer on each level is the Chairman of the Council. (In traditional Africa this would be the King or Chief, who could neither vote nor actively participate in the discussions, since his principal duty was to proclaim and execute the will of the people as it had been determined by their representatives on the Council). Within this people-controlled framework he is still the chief executive officer.

(4) To enable the people of the community to have an intelligent or informed opinion about matters of importance,

the principal role of leaders is to *study* and to *institute studies* upon the basis of which plans are developed and proposals are submitted to the general membership. The leaders propose. They do not order or direct upon their own authority. A direct medium of communication with the people should be the "Community Newsletter."

(5) All officers, even though elected for a specified term of years, should be subject to removal for cause at any time by the people (another African constitutional provision).

(6) The organization itself will be one vast union, and no outside organization or union will be allowed to determine its policies, programs or destiny, no matter under what guise or by what approach the efforts are made.

(7) There should be a rigid policy to avoid the development of a top-heavy bureaucracy of high salaried executives. The success of the Movement is going to depend very heavily on the number of people willing to sacrifice in giving some unpaid or not fully paid service. For at least the first ten years this will be a sacrifice train. The big salary boys should not get on board.

(8) The highest legislative body will be a House of Delegates, representing the various major areas or states according to membership. The House of Delegates would meet every five years, but subject to special session call by the Chairman of the Council or Leaders, acting under Council's instructions; or it could be called by the people by a referendum. (This latter emergency would never occur unless the people lost control of their leaders on the Council).

D. Every undertaking is to be preceded by *study*, *training* and *careful financial planning*. There should be long-range and short-range goals. Some goals can be achieved in a relatively short time; some of a larger magnitude will require several years even after the first five million membership goal is reached; and still others can, like the eternal pyramids, only have their foundations so solidly laid by this generation that the Blacks who follow us can continue building on those well laid foundations at the point where our own labors were ended by time.

And something along this line must be the PLAN. This must be the vision. It is obviously not for the "Overnight" "quick-up and quick-down" boys. This is for Black men, women and their children who seek to find the lost path of their forefathers and start the upward march once again.

* * *

The final great issue, then, involves the African race alone. The dismal "View from the Bridge" was reached after a long journey through the centuries. The outlook is distressing because somewhere back down the line of time the effort to advance toward a higher order of life, in something called *Civilization*, by ever widening the gap that separates men from beasts—this effort failed. And it failed because in his sudden and amazing successes in science and technology man outsmarted himself, concentrating almost entirely on his *mind power* at the expense of his humanizing spiritual power, became not the master of his machines but their servant; and, in the process of acquiring seemingly limitless power, this segment of the human race became as soulless as its machines and began to destroy or conquer other peoples, seizing their lands and their wealth while reducing them as nearly as possible to a state of perpetual dependency. In all this the Black people of the world still find themselves in the worst situation of all. The question of today—*now*—is what are the Black people *themselves* going to do?

Those who make a profession—and money—by playing on the emotions, screaming utterly futile invectives and denunciations—these will continue to do so. And those who still preach "integration" and "brotherhood" with the whites will keep on marching, singing and praying—not to God, but to the white man—for they are still unable to understand that white America had generally condemned and rejected this peace-loving, brotherly approach of Martin Luther King long before it murdered him.² This

2. It seems to be the general view throughout the Black world that polls and other data *show* that whites are hostile to any kind of movement by Blacks for equality, peaceful, non-violent or otherwise; and that this hostile anti-King climate produced his murderer as its representative.

present course of a fragmented and unorganized people, if followed, will find the succeeding generations of Blacks as weak, leaderless and powerless as they are today.

For their present road is the easy road: mass meetings, big conventions, protest resolutions, and splitting up to follow this or that "leader" with the greatest "gift of gab"—all leading exactly nowhere. But to get down to the hard and persistent work of actually doing something—Oh, now we will come to the parting of ways. The mere talker may retreat. All talk about "Black Power" is empty until we begin to make Black Power a reality in the only way it can be done, and that is by building, step by step, a race organization so great that it will not only be the voice of a united people but will carry on *efficiently* an economic development program to assist their advance on all other fronts.

The organization-for-unity PLAN presented in this final chapter is an effort to answer the question, "Which way, you still enshackled Blacks?"—to answer in specific terms and in some detail. It sets forth rather clearly *one way out*. It will be simply great if someone comes up with an even better plan for racial unity through action. Whatever is proposed must be a grand design. Nothing else will serve. It must be bold, daring; an effort of unheard of audacity by Blacks, and one that will bring forth the enemy's scream of "Utopian," "too unrealistic," or "just another grandiose dream." This enemy—and let us not forget it for a single minute—is deeply entrenched *within* the race as well as outside. This means that we must face up to the fact that we have problems of a kind and obstacles to overcome which no other people have.

The tasks we now face will test the genius of the Black race. The Blacks in the United States are in the best position as a lead-off example for the rest of the African race. For such a movement would further change the course of history and inspire Black youth everywhere, along with their elders, with a new vision, a sense of direction, and the kind of outlook that gives meaning to study as the source of inventions and new discoveries. The challenge to the Blacks on this continent is to overcome the centuries of their own American version of tribalism and disunity. It is their greatest challenge in this era of perpetual crisis. They will accept it if they have come to understand at last that equal rights and equal justice

will never come from appeals to the mighty, and granted as an Act of Grace, but only from their own position of power and influence which develop from a united people engaged in great and vast undertakings of their own. If we fail to accept this challenge at this critical turning point in our history, we will have proved ourselves unworthy of having any descendants, and our very names should be forgotten by them—or cursed by the farthest generation.

Biographical Notes

SECTION A

Standing alone and isolated in the field for over thirty-five years, William Leo Hansberry was the teacher who introduced me to the systematic study of African history and, of equal importance, to the ancient documentary sources. His massive documentation of early Greek and Roman historians and geographers of Africa covered several years of labor, leaving one to wonder how the utterly false teaching that Africa had no written history spread over the world. For, entirely apart from the remarkable contributions of archaeology in the 19th and 20th centuries, there have always been more than sufficient written records to reconstruct the history of the Blacks from the earliest times.

And I am fully aware that most of the written records have been lost. The works of Hecataeus, for example, were lost. He was one of the first Greeks to study and write in Egypt. While much of the most significant data are fragments scattered here and there throughout many larger works, as though they were thrown in incidentally, there were some works devoted wholly to ancient Egypt and Ethiopia. The one to whom we probably owe the greatest debt is the "Father of History" himself. Herodotus' *History* was comprehensive in a sense not equalled by any of the other early writers. Diodorus, however, if not quite the equal of the Master, ran a close second. His *General History* may not have equalled that of Herodotus in lucidity and style, neither of which is a matter of too much concern for the researcher, but it is replete with the

kind of historical data without which we would not have the additional sidelights on the darkened pages of Black history.

Both Herodotus and Diodorus were outstanding in setting forth for posterity the attitude of the white world of their day toward the Black world—the extreme reverse of what it is today. The reason is plain: The early Blacks were the most advanced of all the peoples known to them. This they did not hesitate to declare, and to acknowledge that their own European civilization had borrowed heavily from Africa, and borrowed even more heavily in the field of religion. For this later Western historians have never forgiven them.

Pliny, the Elder, is a fair example of writers on Africa, referred to above, where one must wade through a mass of irrelevant matter to find the bits and pieces of data scattered throughout large volumes. Yet these fragments are often of the highest importance, as they are in the case of Pliny's *Historia Natural* is. In this regard Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are in a class by themselves. Like many other works that give insights into the early history of Africans, they also have no such purpose. Moreover, the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are "non-history history," a myth combining fantasy with facts. Homer's importance in African history, however, has little to do with the precise truth of any particular story. Rather, as in the case of the works of Herodotus and Diodorus, Homer mirrors the very high status of the Black world of his day and the unmistakable deference of the white race to that world.

In my studies under Professor Hansberry, I had read the works of the writers discussed above and most of those mentioned in this section below. But the adverse criticism of a whole school of eminent modern scholars led me back for a more painstaking re-study and critical analysis of all the questions under attack. Interestingly enough, almost all of the statements made by the ancient historians that have been challenged concern, directly or indirectly, the role of the Blacks in history. My second approach to Herodotus and the others was with the certainty that I was just as competent to evaluate their works, see "exaggerations," and as capable of separating facts from fiction as Sir Alan Gardiner or any of the members of his school of thought.

Among other writers who made noteworthy contributions in varying degrees was Strabo, whose *Geographica* included history

along with its main subject matter. Plato and Plutarch are reference sources, the latter's *De Iside et Osiride* being more directly relevant. Quite a number of the historians and geographers near the end of the B.C. era drew heavily on the works of such early writers as Hecataeus, Argatharchides, Herodotus and Manetho.

If it had been my purpose to mention the early historians on Africa in order of importance, Manetho, the African historian, would have headed the list; for the records of this Greek-speaking native son of the 4th century B.C., are authoritative sources which no scholar on Egypt ignores. His *Annals* differ in many respects from other records, e.g., those of the great Jewish historian of the period, Josephus, the King-lists, the Turin Canon, etc. These differences in names, spelling and dates about which so many scholars sweat and wrangle never did seem to me to be of earth-shaking importance. Quite the contrary, it would have been strange if all of these different chronologies had been uniformly the same. It should be remembered that all of these 4th and 5th century historians were covering events extending back from four to six thousand years before their time. The numerous discoveries of relatively recent archaeology have substantially confirmed their work. Examples are the inscriptions found on numerous palettes, stelae, the walls of tombs and temples and the Palermo and Rosetta Stones.

Some of the best histories of the earliest periods were written by archaeologists such as Petrie and others appearing in the formal Bibliography below. Coming on the scene over two thousand years after Manetho, Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, *et al.*, they supplemented the works of these first scholars with the additional evidence that had been left in the keeping of the long-since dead and forgotten or recovered from the sands. Petrie headed a line of investigators and writers without whose works the world would be intellectually poorer—Breasted, Budge, Arkell, Africanus, Baikie, Boas, Delafosse, Garstand, Griffith, Nims and others. The illustrious role is long. The *Bible* is one of our richest sources for many different sidelights on the Black world.

With the spread of Islam in Africa and the entrance of France, Arab and French writers dominated the scenes up to and through the 19th century. French and Arab sources, therefore, became indispensable in African research. Indeed, the same may be said of

investigators and writers from all the invading countries. The fact that I reject many of their unspoken pre-suppositions and the inevitable conclusions they reach therefrom has nothing to do with the usefulness of their works or the brilliance of their scholarship. Even some of the authors with whom I most bitterly disagree, nevertheless, led me to rewarding sources I had neither seen nor had been aware of.

It is also rewarding, though in an unhappy way, to see no end to the accumulation of examples that further confirm viewpoints I actually wish were untrue. But as the final chapters here were being written, Professor Robert W. July's big 650 pages of *A History of the African People* came off the press as the latest justification of my indictment of Western historians. I recommend it for reading because it is a 1970 edition of scholarship skillfully carrying out its traditional work on the Blacks. Part One: "Ancient Africa" rearranges, omits and misrepresents many of the well-known facts in order to fit the main racial theory. The large number of pictures, like the mass of factual data in the book, can easily disguise its main thrust and theme: The Black race is inferior.

In the Bibliography that follows I left out quite a number of secondary works used because so many of them seemed to be little more than repetitions of those selected. My decision to eliminate almost all of the periodical literature used was not easy, especially as regards the special studies in professional journals; however, there is a point where an enough-is-enough conclusion is reached. Those who have a mania for the latest works published as their guide will miss the boat here, for some of our most valuable sources were the oldest publications. Some can be seen only in libraries and special museum collections, others are microfilmed. Research sources are no longer a problem. During the last few years there have been many large and comprehensive "Africana" bibliographies published in Europe and America.

The new interest and work in the field of Oral history are among the most significant developments in recent times. My own field studies were largely involved with oral tradition. This fact should be repeated finally in connection with the discussion of sources because the oral records played an important role in many aspects of this work.

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